VOLUME VII MARCH 1954 No. 1

# INDO-IRANICA

*The Quarterly Organ of the Iran Society*

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## *English Section*



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*With 4 illustrations*

# EDITORIAL

Owing to various circumstances outside the immediate control of the Editorial Board the publication of the INDO-IRANICA had fallen behind schedule. In order to remedy the situation and to ensure that the Journal of the Iran Society come out regularly on the date fixed, it has been decided with the approval of the President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to publish the INDO-IRANICA according to a revised schedule. The new volume of the Journal, namely Vol. VII, begins with the present issue, dated March 1954 instead of July 1953 ; the other three issues of the volume will be dated June, September and December 1954.

The Editorial Board feel confident that the Members of the Iran Society, the subscribers to and the readers of the INDO-IRANICA will appreciate this change which will permit to bring out the complete volume of the Journal within one calendar year. The step should be especially welcomed by Librarians for it will simplify their binding problems.

Plans are being made to broaden the scope of the review to the full measure of the aims and objects of the Iran Society. Culture, indeed, does not look only into the past ; it studies also the living present.

It is hoped, therefore, that to articles on literature, history and other classical subjects will be added surveys of modern trends in Persia, expert studies of the problems, political, economic, social and others, facing the country. To help the reader to have a bird's-eye view of the latest development in the country in various fields of activities a short Persian News Digest called THE PERSIAN SCENE, will be made in every issue of the INDO-IRANICA covering the previous three months. We hope the collaboration will help in making this chapter as complete and informative as possible.

The INDO-IRANICA once more embarks on its mission of fostering cultural relations between the countries of India and of Iran. Both have borrowed immensely from one another as sisters do in a big family. We should like the old love and mutual esteem of gone-by days to transcend the boundaries which new nationalism have erected.

Iran is on the eve of celebrating the Millenary of the birth of one of her sons, Shaikh Abú 'Alí Ibn Síná, the Prince of the Learned, a great benefactor of humanity. His philosophical writings, indeed, have worked like leaven in the universities of the Middle Ages, and his medical books have brought relief to countless sufferers. The IRAN SOCIETY gladly unites itself in spirit with the Iranian Nation to celebrate the memory of the great Shaikh.

# DR. B. C. LAW'S PORTRAIT UNVEILED

The unveiling ceremony of the portrait of Dr. Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S., F.A.S.B., President of the Iran Society by Maharajadhiraja, Bahadur Sir Uday Chand Mahtab of Burdwan, K.C.I.E., took place on the 19th February, 1954 at 7 p.m. at 102, Prinsep Street.

In response to the invitations issued to all members of the Iran Society for the function, a good number of the resident members and guests turned up at the premises of the Iran Society. The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan accompanied by his Private Secretary came punctually at 7 p.m. and was received at the entrance of the Society by Father V. Courtois, Vice-President, Mr. S. N. Modak, Prof. Mohibb-ul-Hasan Khan, Prof. A. A. Bekhud, Members of the Council and Dr. Mohd. Ishaque, Hony. Secretary of the Iran Society.

After garlanding the Maharajadhiraj, Father V. Courtois enumerated the services rendered by Dr. Bimala Charan Law and said how he has been connected with the Society from its very inception. He expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Dr. Law for his signal munificence due to which the INDO-IRANICA got its lease of life extended for a number of years till it was adopted by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. "If the journal is now considered unique in fostering Indo-Iranian cultural ties, the credit of it goes to Dr. Law, who came at the opportune moment to resuscitate it. Now that due to ill-health and other domestic reasons Dr. Law is retiring from the Presidentship of the Society, we shall have the consolation of being guided for the deliberations of ours if not by Dr. Law personally at least by his portrait and we shall have the satisfaction of having him in our midst. As a humble token of our recognition and appreciation, we have got the portrait hung in the library of the Society."

Next Mr. Hira Lall Chopra, a member of the Iran Society recited his poem in Persian with its English translation suitable to the occasion. The poem with its English version is given below:

دکتر بملا چرن لا صدر بزم عالیجناب　　آسمان علم را ذاتت چو نور آفتاب
تو شفیق اهل علم و تو رفیق اهل عقل　　علم بخشی عقل پاشي هر کرا شد باریاب
سیم و زرداری ولے علم و هنر داری بسے　　زر خدا بخشید ـ کردی علم را خود اکتساب
تو یکے از بانیان بزم ایران بودهٔ　　رحمتت بر بزم ما ریزد چو باران سحاب
اندو ایرانیکا منت کش ترا اکثر شده　　آن توئی کو دادهٔ آن را اعانت بے حساب
دکتر اسحاق آن هندي نژاد ایران پرست　　آن توئی کز مهر تو او شد به عزمش کامیاب
مُضئ بزم از تو روشن حال روشن تر ز تو　　سایهات فردائے ما روشن کند چون آفتاب

این شبیه گویا نشان اُلفت ایران و هند　　　می دهد پیوسته پیغام محبت بے حجاب
هند و ایران را که دیرینه محبت در دل است　　　عام کردن آن محبت را بود کار ثواب
حبذا آمد امیر ابن امیر ابن امیر　　　مطلع انوار گویا بردوان را ماهتاب
هند و ایران را نباشد پردهٔ بیگانگی　　　ماهتاب آمد شبیهت را کند تا بے نقاب
بزم ایران تا ابد سرچشمهٔ اُلفت شود　　　می کند پیوسته عالم را ز اُلفت فیضیاب
شیوهٔ این بزم کار خیر و خوش باشد مدام
من برومندم دعایم گر بباشد مستجاب

*Translation*

*Dr. Bimala Charan Law, President of the Iran Society,*
*In the firmament of knowledge you are like the light of the Sun,*
*You are a patron of scholars and a friend of the learned,*
*You bestow knowledge and give wisdom to all who come to you,*
*Riches you have and knowledge you have much more*
*God gave you wealth; but knowledge is your own acquisition,*
*You are one of the founders of the Iran Society,*
*Your magnanimity has rained like a cloud on it.*
*The INDO-IRANICA has often been obliged to you,*
*It is you who have given countless help to it.*
*That unique, matcheless and unequalled journal,*
*It is a key to open the gate of Indo-Iranian friendship,*
*Dr. Ishaque, though Indian, yet a worshipper of Iran,*
*Owes his achievements to your patronage.*
*The past of the Society is bright and its present is brighter due to you,*
*Your shade will brighten its future further, like the Sun,*
*Your portrait is a symbol of love between India and Iran.*
*Your unveiled picture gives a message of love constantly,*
*India and Iran cherish mutual love for a long time,*
*And to propagate that love is a meritorious act.*
*Hurrah! A king, son of a king and a son of a king has come,*
*The DAWN OF LIGHTS (UDAY CHAND) namely MAHTAB of BURDWAN,*
*So that there may not remain any veil of estrangement between India and Iran,*
*It is the Moon (Mahtab) itself which has come to unveil thy portrait.*
*May Iran Society continue to be a fountain-head of love for ever,*
*And the entire world be beholden to it for incessant love,*
*May good and happy tasks be ever the profession of this Society,*
*I shall be lucky if this prayer of mine is granted.*

Dr. M. Ishaque, the General Secretary of the Society then spoke as follows:

MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It was on Sunday, the 27th August, 1944, at 11 A.M. that the Iran Society was formed with the co-operation and encouragement of scholars like Mr. M. H. Kashani, the late Prof. Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. Kalidas Nag and the late Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

The other day while I gave a talk on the origin of Alphabet with special reference to the Arabic and Persian Script at the Loreto Day School, Fr. Courtois as Chairman of the meeting, introduced me to the audience as the Father of the Iran Society. If this be so, I must tell you that the Society was born of a poor father. Luckily, for the child, my intellectual Guru, the late Prof. B. M. Barua, came forward to help an indigent father and found out an adoptive father in the person of Dr. B. C. Law for the infant Society. Dr. Law joined the Society as a Life Member on the 2nd February, 1945. On the 3rd April, 1945, he donated Rs. 4,025/- to the Society for the purpose of creating an endowment for publications to be named "Dr. Bimala Churn Law Publication Series." He was elected President for the year 1946-47 and again for the year 1947-48. In July 1946, the quarterly organ of the Society, the *Indo-Iranica*, was started through his single-handed munificence and it continued till April, 1949 under his sole patronage. But for his help, the India Government (Ministry of Education) would not have helped with the annual grant of Rs. 10,000/- through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, towards the publication of the *Indo-Iranica*. It was due to his help again that we were successful in holding the Al-Biruni Millenary Celebrations in March, 1952 under the presidentship of His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, the Governor of West Bengal. He also donated Rs. 2,000/- towards the Society's important publication the *Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume*. In these various ways the child has been receiving tangible help from its patron. Now that the child is growing up it is hoped it will still continue to receive the same care and affection from its Patron.

Dr. B. C. Law's unstinted patronage to the Society went a great way in the revival of the cordial link between India and Iran. His pen contribution "Persepolis & Pataliputra" published in the *Indo-Iranica* and his Presidential Addresses will be ever remembered with reverence by all interested in the aims and objects of the Society. In the course of these 10 years' life of this Society, Dr. B. C. Law has also helped us, whether as a President or a Patron, with his mature counsel and correct guidance in times of emergency and difficulty.

In recognition of all these, the Society has, within the limits of its humble means, thought fit to keep an Oil Portrait of its Patron, Philosopher and Guide in its Reading Room. We pray to God—Long live Dr. B. C. Law in full health, happiness and prosperity.

We thank you all, ladies and gentlemen, for gracing this occasion with your presence and our sincerest gratitude is due to the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur for consenting to officiate as the priest at this ceremony.

After the General Secretary's brief narration of the activities of the Iran Society, the honourable guest, Maharajadhiraja Bahadur Sir Uday Chand Mahtab of Burdwan rose amidst cheers and delivered his speech. It was as under;



MAHARAJADHIRAJ BAHADUR OF BURDWAN DELIVERING HIS SPEECH



MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF BURDWAN UNVEILING THE PORTRAIT OF DR B C LAW

FATHER COURTOIS AND FRIENDS,

It is my greatest pleasure to perform the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of a veteran of literature and culture, Dr B. C. Law, who is so closely associated with the Iran Society practically from its very inception. There is hardly any cultural Society which is not indebted to Dr. B. C. Law for his help in some form or other. The Iran Society is fortunate in enlisting his patronage from its infancy. For a pretty long time, I understand, Dr. Law has been bearing the entire cost of the Society's journal, *Indo-Iranica*, which has attained an honourable place in the cultural journals of India. It was through his munificence that it could be continued and its standard could be maintained. It is a matter for gratification that it is now being published under the patronage of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi. It is often remarked that Goddess of Wealth (Lakshmi) and Goddess of Learning (Saraswati) are jealous of each other, but there is always an honourable exception to the rule and here Dr. Law is such an exception. Bengal is culturally very much advanced. The Asiatic Society of Calcutta is the oldest in its own sphere and this land of Tagore and Nazrul is humming with cultural and literary activities

A little above nine years ago, it was felt by some enthusiasts in Calcutta that ancient ties of friendship should be revived between India and Iran ; and the Iran Society was the outcome of those aspirations. I am glad to say that within this short span, the Society has made a name for itself in national and international cultural spheres. Its journal is looked upon as a link between the two branches of the Aryan culture ; and dreams of poets like Háfiz who yearned to come to this land, seem to have been translated into actuality by this journal where we find all that is best in India represented to Iran and the vice versa.

Scholars, Statesmen and literateurs from Iran have come to this Society as if on a pilgrimage. Their impressions have enhanced the prestige of India. An Ex-Premier of Iran, a Press Delegation from Iran and eminent Professors like Said Nafisi, Issa Sadiq have come and eulogised the achievements of the Iran Society. The Millenary Celebrations of the famous philosopher-mathematician Al-Biruni who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India and the preparations for the Millenary Celebrations of Avicenna go to weld Iran and India together in a stronger bond of love and amity.

How happy is the family comprising of the members of this Society where Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees meet together to have a broader outlook on problems concerning culture. .Persian is acclaimed to be one of the sweetest languages of the East and not long ago, being the Court language of India, our sweetest songs were written and our aspirations were expressed in this beautiful language. Our ancient treasures of philosophy, medicine, rhyme and rythm were all written and preserved in this language. This language is not foreign to India but it is another form of our own ancient and sacred language Sanskrit. Beauties of the Semitic culture were assimilated by this language and in transformation with the Indian context, this language acquired an enchantment difficult to be found in so short a period even in the land of its birth.

Friends, the Iran Society has many achievements to its credit and it has a programme of furthering the course of Indo-Iranian cultural relations. The help given by magnanimous persons like Dr. B. C. Law has surely been very efficiently and profitably utilised and this portrait which I am going to unveil will ever remind the generations to come that even when there was dearth of men, who placed culture above all parochial, communal and provincial con-

siderations, we had persons like Dr. B. C. Law who were responsible for placing India prominently on the international map of culture and they will ever remain a beaconlight for the posterity.

With these few words I unveil the portrait of our retiring President, Dr. B. C. Law.

After these few words the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur unveiled the oil-painting of Dr. B. C. Law amidst loud cheers.

Many photographs were taken on the occasion and the guests and all present were entertained with cold drinks and light refreshments. The function was attended by many members, guests and sympathisers of the Society.

The artist Mr. Bijoy Ratan Paul was presented to the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur. All present very much appreciated the skill of the artist.

The function came to a close at about 8.30 p.m.

The Society is indebted to Mr. Martyrose Martin, a patron of the Society for the liberal contribution he made for holding this function.

# IRAN SOCIETY

*The Tenth Annual General Meeting*

The Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society was held on Sunday, the 14th March, 1954, at 11 A.M. in the hall of the Loreto Day School, 169, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. The President, Dr. B. C. Law being unable to attend the meeting due to sudden illness, The Vice-President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois was voted to the chair.

Dr. Parimal Roy, Director of Public Instruction, Government of West Bengal, attended the meeting as a guest of honour.

At 11 A.M. the Chairman declared the Annual General Meeting open. The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 15th March, 1953, the Annual Report and the audited accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1953.

As Dr. B. C. Law was absent, his Presidential Address was read by the Vice-President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois.

The following Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1954-55 were duly elected:—

*President*

Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (Retd.)

*Vice-Presidents*

Rev. Father V. Courtois, S.J.

Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, B.A. Honours (London)

*Hony. Treasurer*

Mr. J. D. Bulsara

*Hony. Secretary*

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A. (Calcutta), Ph.D. (London)

*Asstt. Secretary*

Prof. Hira Lall Chopra, M.A.

*Other Members*

Rev. Father, C. Van Exem, S.J.

Mr. J. N. Talukdar, I.C.S.

Mr. Martyrose Martin

Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud

Mr. Mohammed Karim Khaleeli

Khan Bahadur Mahmood Ahmad, M.A.

Mr. M. Ali Akbar Kashani

Mr. Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.

Prof. Masood Hasan, M.A., B.E.S.

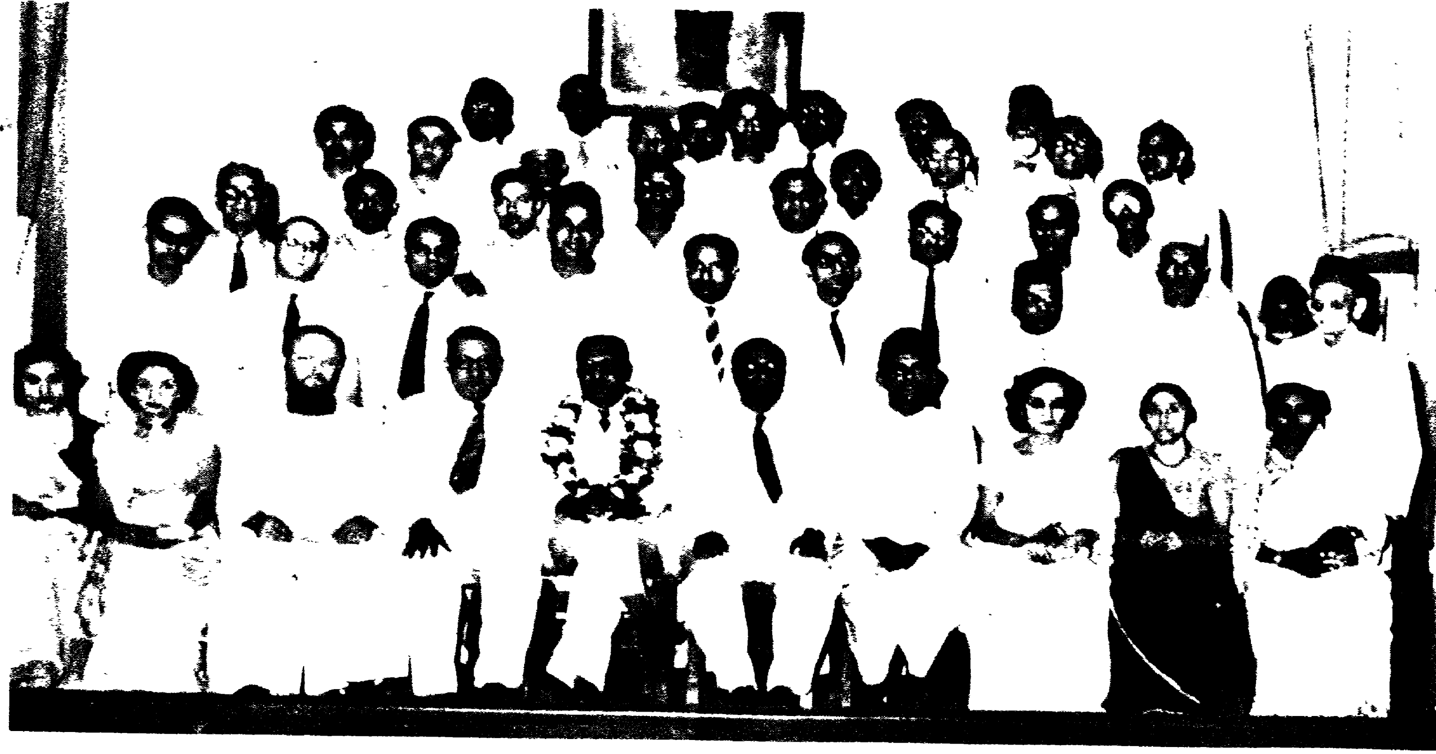
The Chairman, Rev. Father V. Courtois installed the incoming President, Mr. S. N. Modak, who was garlanded amidst applause.

Thanking the outgoing President and congratulating the incoming President, Mr. Hira Lall Chopra said:

"Thanks are due to Dr. B. C. Law, a Patron and retiring President, for his keen interest in the Society from its very inception. Dr. Law, besides being a great scholar, is a great benefactor of many learned Societies and men of letters. The Quarterly organ of the Society, The *Indo-Iranica,* owes its existence to Dr. Law without whose munificence, it could not have seen the light of the day". Congratulating the incoming President. Mr. S. N. Modak, Prof. Chopra said: "It is of special significance that during his tenure of office we have plans for the Millenary Celebrations of Avicenna when His Excellency Dr. A. A. Hekmat, President for similar Celebrations to be held in Teheran and Hamadan, is fortunately in India as Iran's Ambassador. Dr. Hekmat's inspiration, Mr. Modak's enthusiasm and Dr. Ishaque's methodical way of conducting the Celebrations as witnessed at the time of the Millenary Celebrations of Al-Biruni, can vouchsafe for the befitting arrangement on the occasion. I can assure Mr. Modak of the support of all members in all ventures of the Society for cementing cultural relations between India and Iran. It is earnestly hoped that Dr. Parimal Roy, the Director of Public Instruction, Government of West Bengal, will also continue his unstinted support and patronage to the Society."



MR. S. N. MODAK
ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE
IRAN SOCIETY FOR 1954-55



GROUP PHOTO TAKEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE
16TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Dr. Parimal Roy, Director of Public Instruction, Government of West Bengal, in his speech congratulated the new President, Mr. S. N. Modak and laying stress on the publication of popular works on Indo-Iranian relations said:

"The Iran Society should satisfy the cravings of an ordinary man about the Indo-Iranian cultural relations. The learned members should continue their scholarly pursuits, but some provision should also be made for the common man to know something about Iran's culture and its affinity to Indian ideals through some pamphlets published by the Society". He assured the Society of the support and patronage of his department to all such ventures to be undertaken for the purpose of creating goodwill between the two great countries, India and Iran.

The President-elect, Mr. S. N. Modak thanked the members of the Society for electing him as President of the Society for the year 1954-55.

"My election", he said, "signified that the Society was not the monopoly of the learned alone, but even commoners had an access to it." He recalled the days when on the suggestion of his old friend the late Prof. Dr. B. M. Barua, he joined the Society, little knowing that he would some time be elevated to its Presidentship. He expected whole-hearted co-operation from its members in the execution of various projects that are contemplated to be undertaken by the Society in the coming year and specially in the functions connected with the Millenary Celebrations of Avicenna.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated.

After the meeting was over, the members and their guests participated in the Annual Lunch held at the Great Eastern Hotel.

It was a happy gathering consisting of eminent scholars, University Professors, businessmen, ladies and gentlemen interested in Indo-Iranian cultural relations.

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# IRAN SOCIETY

## Annual Report for 1953

The Council of the Iran Society have great pleasure in presenting the following report on the working of the Society during the year ended 31st December, 1953 together with the audited accounts, and conveying their cordial greetings to all the patrons, generous donors, well-wishers, office-bearers and members of the Society on whose valued help, support and co-operation the Society has all along depended for the progress it has been able to make.

The Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Iran Society was held on Sunday, the 15th March, 1953, at 11 a.m. in the Hall of the Loreto Day School, 169, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, under the Presidentship of Rev. Fr. V. Courtois.

The following members were present:—

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.
S. N. Modak, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (retd.)
Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah, Esq.
D. R. Bilimoria, Esq.
R. S. Patuck, Esq., B.A., (Bombay & Cantab.)
M. A. Majid, Esq., B.A. (Hons.).
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A.
Gholam Jeelani Baig, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S.J.
Mahomed Hansa, Esq.
Wajihuddin Ahmad, Esq., M.A., F.M.
Dr. Syed Jeelany, M.A., Ph.D.
H. L. Chopra, Esq., M.A.
Prof. M. Fazlur Rahman Baqi.
Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Esq., B.A. Hons. (London).
Prof. Masood Hasan, M.A., B.E.S.
Nasir Ali Khan, Esq., M.A. (Alig.).
Prof. Md. Saber Khan, M.A. (Triple), B.E.S.
Khalilur Rahman, Esq., M.A.
Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London).

At 11 a.m. the President declared the Annual General Meeting open and votes (by ballot) for the election of Office-bearers and Members of the Council for 1953-54 were recorded between 11 and 11-30 a.m. The President appointed Professor Md. Saber Khan and Mr. M. A. Majid as Scrutineers.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on the 24th February, 1952, which duly proposed for confirmation by Mr. R. S. Patuck and seconded by Professor Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud were carried unanimously.

The Secretary read the Annual Report and the Treasurer read the Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1952. Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem proposed and Mr. Gholam Jeelani Baig seconded the adoption of the Annual Report and the audited accounts. The proposal was carried unanimously.

During the question time Mr. H. L. Chopra and Dr. Syed Jeelany suggested that copies of the Annual Report together with the Audited Accounts be circulated to the Members some time before the Annual General Meeting of the Society so that they might have an opportunity to go through them before hand.

The suggestion was accepted.

The President (Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.) read his Presidential Address.

The Scrutineers Professor Md. Saber Khan and Mr. M. A. Majid communicated the result of the voting to the President who declared the following Office-bearers and Members of the Council for the year 1953-54 as elected:—

**President**

Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.A.S., Hony. F.R.A.S.

**Vice-Presidents**

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J.
J. N. Talukdar, Esq., I.C.S.

**Secretary**

Dr. M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., (London)

**Treasurer**

Aqa Al-Hadj Khalil Adlkhah

**Asstt. Secretary**

Mr. Mohamed Karim Khaleeli

**Other Members of the Council**

Mr. S. N. Modak, M.A., (Cal.), B.A., (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, I.C.S. (retd.).
Mr. M. H. Kashani.
Rev. Fr. C. Van Exem, S.J.
Mr. Martyrose Martin.
Prof. Abbas Ali Khan Bekhud, M.A.
Mr. D. R. Bilimoria.
Mr. R. S. Patuck.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.A.S., M.P.
Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan, B.A. Honours (London).

The incoming President, Dr. B. C. Law, being absent, the outgoing President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. was garlanded amidst applause.

Mr. S. N. Modak thanked the outgoing President, Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J., for the valuable services rendered by him to the Society.

Rev. Fr. V. Courtois, S.J. thanked the Members of the Council of the Society for all the co-operation and help rendered to him in the works of the Society during his Presidentship.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting terminated.

**Avicenna Millenary**

As already mentioned in the last year's Report, the Council of the Iran Society at its meeting held on the 2nd May, 1952 resolved to celebrate the Millenary of Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina better known as Avicenna on the same scale as the Millenary of Al-Biruni celebrated by the Society under the Presidentship of His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, the Governor of West Bengal, in March 1952. A profusely illustrated *'Avicenna Number'* of the Indo-Iranica (Vol. VI No. 3) in his commemoration has already been published. The Society proposes to hold a conference, a symposium, an exhibition, one or two lectures on the life and activities of the great Savant and to hold a Dinner or a Luncheon Party in his honour. Delegates from different Universities and learned Institutions of India, will be invited to participate in the functions. The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India has kindly agreed to donate Rs. 2,500/- through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, provided the Society raises an equal amount towards the expenditure of the proposed Celebration.

**Abdul Halim Memorial Fund**

On suggestions received from Mr. D. R. Bilimoria and Prof. Hira Lal Chopra for taking steps to perpetuate the memory of the late Khan Sahib Al-Hadj Maulavi Abdul Halim, a Founder Member and Patron of the Iran Society, the Council at its meeting held on the 13th May, 1953, accepted the recommendations of the Abdul Halim Memorial Committee (formed at the Council Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1952). According to the recommendations of the Committee, a sum of Rs. 2,000/- is to be raised by donations and subscriptions out of which a cash prize of Rs. 500/- is to be awarded to the author of the work on any subject having bearing on Iran or Indo-Iranian Culture approved by a Committee of Experts to be appointed by the Council of the Society for the purpose. The work when

printed and published, will be dedicated to the memory of the late Khan Sahib Al-Hadj Maulavi Abdul Halim.

**Grant-in-aid**

We received the usual Grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,000/- from the Government of West Bengal (Education Directorate) during the year under review towards the publication of Journal etc. The Society expresses its grateful thanks to the Government of West Bengal and the Education Directorate for their kind grant.

**Library**

The Members of the Iran Society will be pleased to know that the Society now has about 1,000 volumes of valuable books on various subjects mostly relating to Iran, Zoroastrian and Indo-Iranian studies. Cataloguing of the books is nearly complete. During the year we received 16 books from Parsi Panchayat Funds and Properties, Bombay, 3 books from Dr. B. C. Law, 7 books from Dá'iratu'l-Ma'árif, Hyderabad (Deccan) and one book from the Librarian, Library of the Congress, U.S.A. We offer our grateful thanks to the donors for their kind and valuable gifts.

**A new work in the Press**

The Council of the Iran Society has undertaken the printing and publishing of the Díván of *Qásim-i-Káhí*, an eminent poet of the Court of Akbar edited by Prof. Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh. The *Díván* when printed will constitute the companion volume to Prof. Hadi Hasan's another work *Qasim-i-Kahi, His Life, Times and Works* and will contain, in addition to a short critical Introduction in Persian, 1728 verses, important variants and brief foot-notes. The work is expected to be published in course of the year.

**Dr. B. C. Law's Portrait**

The Members of the Iran Society will be pleased to know that the portrait in oil of our great benefactor, Dr. B. C. Law has already been made by an Artist, Mr. Bijoy Ratan Paul. The unveiling ceremony of the portrait is expected to be held soon. The Council of the Iran Society is glad that in spite of a protracted postponement, it has succeeded in expressing the Society's gratitude to its benefactor, Dr. B. C. Law in the shape of the portrait which will ever remind us of his benefactions to the Society.

**Representation**

Mr. M. K. Khaleeli was nominated by the Council at its meeting held on the 10th April, 1953, as its representative to serve on the Committee for the award of the Zainul Abedin Gold Medal of the Calcutta University. Rev. Fr. V. Courtois was elected by the Council at its meeting held on the

10th July, 1953, as representative of the Iran Society to serve as a Member of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, for three years.

## Public Lectures

During the course of the year two public lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Society. The first one was delivered by Prof. Hira Lal Chopra on 'Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí' on Tuesday, the 18th August, 1953. The second one by Dr. M. Ishaque, Secretary of the Iran Society on 'The Persian Alphabet' on Thursday, the 10th December, 1953. Both the lectures which were well attended, were held in the Hall of the Loreto Day School, 169, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta 13. The Council is grateful to Mother Francis Clare for her kind help and co-operation rendered by lending the Hall to the Society.

## Honorary Members

The Council at its meeting held on the 13th May, 1953, elected Prof. Dr. Hadi Hasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh, and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala of Bombay as Honorary Members of the Iran Society for their erudition in Iranian lore and their keen interest in the Society.

## Patrons and Members

The Society has six Patrons, four Honorary, fifty-one Life, fifty-nine Ordinary and two Student Members. It may be seen from this report that the achievements made by the Society during the nine years of its existence are encouraging. It is earnestly hoped that all the Members of the Society would request their friends to join us in raising aloft the torch of Indo-Iranian learning and culture.

## Patrons

1. His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal.
2. The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister, for Education, Government of India, New Delhi.
3. His Excellency Aqa M. Noury-Esfandiary, Iranian Ambassador, New Delhi.
4. Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S. (Lond.), F.R.A.S.B., Zamindar.
5. Aminu'l-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.
6. Martyrose Martin, Esq., Merchant, and Landlord.

## Honorary Members

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., 255, Lake Terrace, Calcutta—29.
2. Dr. J. M. Unvala, M.A., Ph.D. (Heidelberg), Parsee Student Hostel, 8, Gamadia Colony, Tardeo, Bombay.
3. Prof. Dr. Hadi Hasan, Head of the Department of Persian, Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.
4. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala Ph.D., Barrister-at-Law, Anchorage, 7, Vatchagandhi Road, Bombay—7.

# IRAN SOCIETY : CALCUTTA

*Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1953*

FUNDS

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reserve Fund ... ... ... ... | 6,931 | 13 | 0 |
| Building Fund ... ... ... ... | 11,243 | 1 | 9 |
| Dr. B. C. Law:—Publication Fund ... ... | 4,991 | 5 | 0 |
| Dr. B. C. Law:—Portrait Fund ... ... | 115 | 6 | 0 |
| Nashriyah-i-Iran Fund ... ... ... | [illegible],367 | 3 | 0 |
| Prof. M. Haq. Memorial Fund ... ... | 536 | 4 | 0 |
| Abdul Halim Memorial Fund ... ... | 520 | 0 | 0 |
| | Rs. 28,705 | 0 | 9 |

ASSETS

| | Rs. | As. | P. | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Furniture & Fittings:— | | | | | | |
| As per last Balance Sheet ... ... | | | | 1,090 | 8 | 3 |
| Investments at cost:— | | | | | | |
| 3 Years Cash Certificates with Central Bank of India Ltd. ... | 4,544 | 12 | 0 | | | |
| 3½% 10 Years Treasury Bonds with Reserve Bank of India ... | 10,000 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| 3% G. P. Notes with Central Bank of India Ltd. ... | 4,009 | 10 | 6 | 18,554 | 6 | 6 |
| General Fund (Deficit) ... ... ... | | | | 538 | 4 | 3 |
| Dr. Ishaque Publication Fund (Deficit) ... ... | | | | 461 | 1 | 9 |
| Tawarikh-i-Bangala (Deficit) ... ... | | | | 784 | 4 | 0 |
| Al-Biruni:— | | | | | | |
| Celebration Fund (Deficit) | 45 | 7 | 6 | | | |
| Commemoration Fund (Deficit) | 105 | 6 | 0 | 150 | 13 | 6 |
| Indo-Iranica Fund (Deficit) ... ... | | | | 5,666 | 11 | 3 |
| Cash in Hand ... ... ... ... | | | | 82 | 4 | 0 |
| Cash at Bank:— | | | | | | |
| Central Bank of India Ltd. (Current A/c.) ... | | | | 1,376 | 11 | 3 |
| | | | | Rs. 28,705 | 0 | 9 |

I beg to report that I have audited the Balance Sheet of The Iran Society, as at 31st December, 1953. I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required and in my opinion such Balance Sheet is drawn up in conformity with the law and subject to my separate report of even date the Balance Sheet exhibts a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

Calcutta, 2-3-1954.

J. C. GOSWAMI,
*Chartered Accountant.*

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

## TO

## THE TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

## OF THE

# IRAN SOCIETY

*By*

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., HONY. F.R.A.S. (London), F.A.S.

FELLOW MEMBERS—

The Iran Society of Calcutta has already completed the ninth year of its existence. Its aim is to develop the cultural pursuits of Iran and to promote the cause of close cultural relationship between India and Iran. It is progressing favourably under the guitance of its competent council and able Secretary. I hope by the grace of God it will soon be an important cultural body. I pray for its success in every sphere of its activity and especially in its honest effort to enable us to understand the cultural relationship existing between the two countries. It ought to take up the task of preparing a comprehensive and comparative treatise on India and Iran, which will be helpful to those interested in them. It is also desirable to have a comparative study of the Vedic hymns and the Avestan gāthās. Their languages, metres and dictions have all been subjected to critical analysis. Al-Beruni Volume recently published by this Society is no doubt a notable contribution in addition to its some other worthy publications. Al-Beruni who was in the territory of modern Khiva in A.D. 973, distinguished himself in science and literature. India as far as known to him was Brahmanic and not Buddhistic. In the first half of the 11th century A.D. all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khurasan, Afghanistan and north-western India seem to have disappeared. According to him Zarathushtra founded fire-temples from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The later kings made Zoroastrianism the obligatory state-religion with the result that the Buddhists were banished from their countries. The Zoroastrian scriptures refer to the disputes with the Buddhists. His notes on Buddhism as given in his book on *India* are very meagre. Benares and Kashmere were then the two centres of Indian learning. He had not the same opportunity for travelling in India as the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang had in the 7th century A.D. In this book on *India* he deals with the Madhyadeśa (or middle country as explained in both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature of an early date), Prayāga (Allahabad), Sthāneśvara

(ancient Kurukṣetra near Delhi), Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Pāṭaliputra (Patna), Nepal, Kashmere, and other countries and towns, rivers, animals, western and southern frontiers of India, the western frontier-mountains of India, islands, rainfall, etc. He also refers to the Hindu method of determining distances between various parts of India.

A detailed and critical study of Al-Beruni's knowledge of Indian Geography in the light of modern scientific researches is a desideratum. It is a pity that no attempt has been made to deal with this interesting topic in the Al-Beruni Volume. I hope to do some justice to it in an article which I am preparing for the useful journal of this society, which is being published regularly. We are thankful to the Government of India for the financial help towards its publication.

The modern name of Irān is derived from the ancient Āryāna or the country of the Aryans (Āryas). Eratosthenes, the Greek geographer, who was the author of a scientific geography and who described India on the authority of Alexander's historians, limited the name of Āryāna to the south-eastern part of Iran and excluded Persia, Media and Bactria.

The great plateau of Iran lies between the Tigris in the west and the Indus valley in the east, the Caspian sea and the Turanian desert in the north and the Persian gulf and the Indian ocean in the south, surrounded on all sides by high mountain ranges with a great salt desert in the centre. It may be divided into four distinct regions:—

(1) the valley along the border of the Caspian sea in the north extending as far as the Alborz mountains in the south ;

(2) north-west region extending over the provinces of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, Hamadan and Luristan ;

(3) the great Iranian plateau extending from the Alborz range in the north to the Zagros ranges in the west including Afghanistan and Baluchistan borders in the east ;

(4) the gulf area lying between the southernmost hills of the great Iranian plateau and the coast of the Persian gulf.

The ancestors of the Aryan Indians migrated into the Punjab, and the Iranians were left in possession of the extensive territory from Bactria to Media down to the frontiers of India. Buddhist missionaries penetrated westwards into Iran. Early Buddhism introduced into Iran the idea of monasticism. Tibetan Buddhism contains an account of demons and their agents as known to the Babylonians.

Zoroastrianism was the religion of Iran. In the gāthās of *Avesta,* which is the sacred book of the Parsis, and which throws much light on the thoughts and ideals of the Vedas, we find Zoroaster, the founder of the national religion of Iran, always standing on the solid ground of reality. He taught

a new religion which was polytheistic. He elevated the conception of the *Ahura* and degraded the *Daivas* to the rank of malicious powers and devils. Ethically Zorostrianism stands on a higher region and represents in its moral laws a superior civilisation. The ultimate triumph of the good spirit is an ethical demand of the religious consciousness. Zoroaster had firm confidence in the future triumph of the good. Zarathushtra affirmed the old Vedic teaching that the truth is one, the wise in many ways call it (*Ekaṃ sadviprāḥ bahudhā vadanti*). The general outlook on life in Pre-Zoroastrian Iran is the same as that found in the oldest parts of the *Vedas*. Both the Indians and the Iranians were lovers of life. In the Vedas the sages therefore ask for hundred autumns of happy and cheerful life. The Aryans and the Iranians were both followers of sacrifices.

Zarathushtra explained the character of the freedom of human will and also good and evil. The religion of Zoroaster is against the seclusion of monastic life. One should love God. This is possible only through the wholehearted devotion to the Almighty and complete surrender to His will. Zarathushtra lays emphasis on the service of humanity as a cardinal virtue. He teaches that man is born free to choose his own path—the path of righteousness or the path of wickedness. If he wants peace, joy and immortality, he must embrace *Āśā* and follow the good life through all the struggles of human life. The essence of the teachings embodied in the *Avesta* is found in the fundamental conception of *Āśā*. The Avestan *Āśā* and the Vedic *Rta* are the two variants of the same word. It is no doubt true that the *Āśā-Ṛta* conception is a notable achievement of human mind. Man obtains power through good mind (*Vohumana*). He who resorts to the wisdom and grace of the Lord through *Vohumana* and *Āśā*, attains the power of God and thereby inaugurates the kingdom of *Mazda* on earth. The sun and the moon are objects of worship in the *Vedas* as well as in the later *Avesta*. Water and fire were adored both by the Indians and Iranians. The special sanctity of the house-fire was inherited by the Iranians from the Indo-Europeans. The later Parsi manifestations of reverence for earth, fire and water, were not Iranian but due to Magi. Zoroaster makes no reference to idol-worship. Throughout the history of the religion of Iran idolatry played no part. From the earliest times the Persians were not the worshippers of Idols. In most of the prayers of Zarathushtra the reward of happy life is indicated. Iranian religion teaches the state of eternal bliss, divine wisdom, and divine knowledge. In Hinduism God is the absolute Brahman. He is Brahmā the creator, Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva the destroyer. In the religion of Iran He is God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. He is Ahura Mazda, the all-knowing Lord of the universe. *Jñāna-mārga*, the path of knowledge, *Bhakti-mārga*, the path of devotion, and *Karma-mārga* the path of service, are found in the religion of Iran. These are known as the eternal principles in the hymns of Zarathushtra. They are no doubt interrelated. The path of action was most congenial to the people of Iran as the Iranian nation was a nation of active workers.

In all the main systems of Indian philosophy and religion, *Karma* is accepted as an article of faith. According to the popular Hindu belief it is a sum-total of man's action in a previous birth. Its effect remains until it is exhausted through suffering or enjoyment. This popular notion of *Karma* is also found in Buddhism. In Jainism *Karma* accumulates energy and automatically works it off without any outside intervention whereas in Hinduism God inflicts punishment for evil deeds. The Jains divide *Karma* according to its nature, duration, essence, and content. *Karma* is intimately bound up with the soul.

The doctrine of the two spirits preached by Zarathushtra was explained as a species of dualism in popular religion. In every mythology there is a conflict of gods and demons symbolizing the moral conflict of good and evil in this world. The Iranians realised the pre-eminence of *Ahura* (*Varuṇa*) and *Mithra* (*Mitra*). The word *Mitra* connotes the idea of union and love according to the Iranians. *Mitra-Varuṇa* were not identical twins like the Aśvins. *Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra* and *Nāsatya* are all Indian Aryan gods. They could not belong to the period prior to the separation of the Indian and Iranian branches.

Manichæism, founded by Mānī who was born in 215-216 A.D. at Ctesiphon in Babylonia, spread far and wide. This faith attained considerable influence outside Iran, especially in Central Asia and China, where it flourished for many years. Mānī taught very clearly the doctrine of re-incarnation.

One of the Avestan texts places the beginning of the history of Zoroastrianism in a cultural area comprising sixteen countries. One of the localities that find mention in the Zoroastrian scripture is definitely the land of the seven rivers which is no other than the Punjab proper, the land of the seven Sindhus (*Saptasindhavaḥ*), which witnessed the growth of the Indus valley and early Vedic civilisation. But we find at the same time that even in historical times Gandhāra and the Indus region were included in the Achæmenian empire. According to Megasthenes this portion of north-western India was also included in the Assyrian empire. It was precisely over this portion that Alexander the Great established his suzerainty at least for the time being. This portion also lay open to the Bactrian, Parthian, Scythian, Hūṇa and Muslim invasions. In this very portion the great Hindu epic and other Indian works located the settlements of various tribes, civilised and uncivilised, who migrated afterwards to different parts of India and founded new territories or colonies. It is worthwhile to concentrate our attention on the study of the history and topography of this portion as the connecting link between India on the one hand and the Middle East, Mediterranean countries and Central Asia on the other.

The Iranians are the most civilised people of the east. The ancient civilisation of Iran influenced the political, social and cultural aspects of the east and the west. The geographical position of Iran was very favourable

for her becoming a great commercial centre. There are distinct traces of cultural affinity between India and Iran, particularly northern Khurasan. Iran is proud of such distinguished persons as Zoroaster, Darius, Naushirvan, Firdausi, S'adi and Hafiz. She is also famous for her very ancient culture. Zoroastrianism, Mazdakism, Shi'aism and Sufism are the well-known contributions made by Iran to the world of religion and philosophy. Sufism in Bengal and India was an important religious movement. It went deep into Indian heart and made a wide appeal. Its influence can be traced in the contemporary religious thoughts and ideas.

Let me repeat once again my sincere wish that the object of this society, which is the first of its kind in India, be fulfilled and let it prosper (*siddhirastu śubhaṃ astu*).

# MAULĀNĀ JALĀL-UD-DĪN RŪMI.*

*By Professor Hira Lall Chopra, M.A. Calcutta.*

THE superlatives no doubt have little value in the assessment of the poetical and literary acumen of a person, when described by a devotee or one obsessed with any particular aspect of that literary figure. The superlatives are seldom used in the case of literary and spiritual persons, howsoever great giants they may be in their own sphere, but there are exceptions, which are accepted universally. One such exception is that of the most luminous star in the spiritual firmament of Persian poetry and the greatest mystical poet in the literatures of the world i.e., Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, commonly known as Maulānā Rūmī or Maulavī Rūmī, whose 700th death anniversary falls this year according to the Hijri Era, which we have assembled here to celebrate under the auspices of the Iran Society. It is quite apt that the Iran Society of India has decided to keep fresh the memory of a saint, who has wielded a great influence on Indian Thought and Philosophy.

How happy and surprising the coincidence is that Shaṇkrāchārya here in India and a few centuries later, Rūmī in Asia Minor heralded the cause of monistic Vedāṇta or Sūfīsm at a time when people were groping in the dark in both the countries and striving arduously in search of Truth and its realization. Consequences arrived at by these two great thinkers of the world were branded as heretical in their respective countries before their advent in the spiritual sphere but because both of them based their findings on personal experiments in the field of realization taking the religious scriptures as their base and main prop, they were acclaimed as resuscitators of the dormant Divinity of man by realizing which humanity throughout the globe can be brought into the orbit of one family and a message of hope, love, faith, brotherhood, peace, amity and charity could be given to the different parts of the universe. The apparent differences and clashes were easily to be eliminated after a careful study of and realization through one's own faith. Strict adherence to one's convictions opens the door of understanding for him.

## SHANKAR AND RŪMĪ

Shaṇkar and Rūmī both seem to have been influenced independently by some philosophy very much akin to that of the Bhāgavad Gītā. We can locate the sources for Shaṇkar which might have enabled him to come to this conclusion but we cannot account for as to how Rūmī was led to come to identical results except being influenced by Greek philosophers of the type of Pythagoras.

* Lecture delivered under the auspices of the Iran Society on 18th August, 1953.

The idea of eternality and transmigration of soul was quite foreign to Islam. Not to go so far, even همه اوست (pantheism) and همه ازوست (panentheism) were taken to be heretical pronouncements and no Semitic religion could give any sanction for that. It was believed that the soul perished with the death of the body. Vedāṇta declared that the entire creation is but a manifestation of the Divine and the human soul is a part and parcel of it, which has an eternal life and the death of the body does not constitute its end. The soul lives eternally and changes its physical forms at intervals. The death of the body is just like changing of the clothes. The soul has to undergo a cycle of lives before it can achieve its salvation and it hardly concerns a soul whether it puts on precious garments or tattered ones viz. whether it has a covering of a highly developed person or a reptile. The soul is the same in all beings, animate or inanimate. It is this remarkable outlook of the Sūfīs and Vedāṇtists which has made them head and shoulders above the religious divines. These Sūfis are not the sole property of any one nation but they are universally respected by the whole humanity and leave a common cultural heritage for posterity to widen their outlook and it is therefore that Rūmī and Shaṇkar deserve respect and veneration of us all.

Both the great thinkers assert that the sufferings of humanity are only an illusion and if properly understood, they offer no resistance to realization. This earthly life is only an interlude between two ends of a real life which is continuous and eternal. This aspect of realization is rare and simple and requires only guidance from a perfect preceptor as also a strict spiritual discipline. Though all this appears to be idealistic yet it is realistic also.

Today we assemble here to pay our homage to the memory of that great Vedāṇtist of the Persian language, who canonised his mystic philosophy in conformity with the tenets of his faith. He is the great standard-bearer of love and amity and enunciates his philosophy in his immortal Masnavī, about which Jāmī, another great poet of Persia has written

من چه گویم وصف آں عالی جناب * نیست پیغمبر ولے دارد کتاب
مثنوی مولوی معنوی * هست قرآں در زبان پہلوی

(How should I enumerate the qualities of that great personage,
He is not a prophet, yet he holds the Book,
The Masnavī of the Spiritual Maulvī Rūmī,
Is a veritable Qur'ān in the Pahlavī language.)

Rūmī declares that the world has not read properly into the message of love as given by the Holy Qur'ān and the religious fanatics have stigmatised it by their evil behaviour and wrong interpretation. He inspires all religious-minded people to turn inwards and introspect rather than to search outward for the realization and it is therefore he declares openly:

من ز قرآں مغز را برداشتم * استخواں پیش سگاں انداختم

(I have taken out marrow from the Qur'ān and cast bones to dogs.)

It is the spirit which tackles the intricate problems of life to its full solution through the heart, and not through the brain, which concerns itself to things physical and mundane and not the metaphysical. A person so equipped transcends all discriminations of caste, creed and colour and says:

روح با عقلست و با علم است یار * روح را با تازی و ترکی چه کار

(The soul is concerned with wisdom and knowledge
It has nothing to do with an Arab or a Turk)

Therefore such like advanced souls do not belong to one country or nationality and they deliver their message not for any one group of people or community, but they are a common heritage for the entire humanity and their message is universal. An Indian is equally qualified to celebrate Rūmī's seventh centenary as an Irānian or a Turk, as to him all people are his own manifestation and for him Truth is One and Eternal. He sings in the words of the Ṛg Vedā:

एकं सद् विप्र बहुदा वदन्ति

(Truth is One, men call it by various names.)

To him love is the essence of all religions and panacea for all the ills of the world, when he says:

شاد باش اے عشق خوش سودائے ما * اے طبیب جملہ علت ہائے ما
مذہب عشق از ہمہ ملت جدا است * عاشقاں را مذہب و ملت خدا است

(Be happy O my Love of nice intoxication,
O physician of all my ailments,
The religion of Love is separate from all the religions,
For lovers God is their religion.)

Let us bow in reverence to that great Saint and a teacher on whom we have the same claim as his own countrymen as he showed us the path in the same way as he did to his own followers. The Irān Society deserves to be specially congratulated for undertaking to celebrate the 700th anniversary of this great poet and thinker of humanity.

This goes to the credit of the Orient that even though in political fields it is stuck up in mud, it can speak with its enemies and calumniators when philosophy, virtuous life, spiritual discipline and thought-provoking wisdom are taken as values. It is Orient which has taught the world that man is a soul with a body contrary to the Occidental conception that man is a body with a soul. It is the Orient which has shown that man can shake off his body and realize his Divinity as the real Reality. Its feet are stuck up in mud and bleeding, but its brow is crowned and sparkling with eternal stars.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī was born on 30th September, 1207 A.D. (604 A.H.) in Balkh in the northern province of Khorāsān, a great centre of learning. He got his early training under his father Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn, who entrusted his son to a great scholar Syed Burhān-ud-Dīn, a disciple of Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn. It is said that Burhān-ud-Dīn went to Nishāpūr to meet Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn 'Attār, who took Jalāl-ud-Dīn in his arms and blessed and presented his famous Masnavī Asrār Nāmāh and Maulānā Rūmī himself pays his homage to the great Saint in the following words:

عطار روح بود وسنائی دو چشم او * ما از پس سنائی و عطار آمدیم

('Attār was the soul and Sanāī two eyes, we come after 'Attār and Sanāī)

Rūmī's father, Bahā-ud-Dīn was held in great esteem by King Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, who had Imām Rāzī as his minister, but who was jealous of Bahā-ud-Dīn. He poisoned the ears of the king against him. One day the king is reported to have sent the keys of the royal treasury to him saying, "You can have these also". Bahā-ud-Dīn took the hint and told that he would leave Balkh by next Friday. After staying in Nishāpūr and Baghdād, he settled down in Qonīyā.

On the death of his father in 628 A.H. when Syed Burhān-ud-Dīn came to know of it, he started for Qonīyā and when Syed and Rūmī met, the former tested the latter and told him that all esoteric teachings with him were a trust of his father and he would gladly impart to him the same. Rūmī got it and acknowledged it reverently at various places ; but the real transformation to spiritual discipline came to him through another more famous teacher, known as Shams Tabrīz. His meeting with Shams is so engrossed in legends woven round this man of supernatural powers, that it is very difficult to find out the truth. Any way it is certain that Rūmī met Shams Tabrīz and became so devoted to him that he could not live without him. The master after showing the path to his disciple disappeared mysteriously to enable the disciple to search for the Ultimate Truth independently. Rūmī, who was well-versed with all knowledge, was unaware of the magical powers of Love and Devotion ; but by coming in contact with Shams, he was so overpowered with magic that he lost all world-consciousness and became one with the Infinite. It was under the influence of this supramental consciousness of Shams that Rūmī wrote his immortal Masnavī as he himself writes:

شمس تبریزے کہ نور مطلقست * آفتابست وز انوار حقست
ایں نفس جاں دامنم بر تافتست * بوئے پیراهان یوسف یافتست
کز برائے حق صحبت سالہا * بازگو رمزے ازاں خوشحالہا
من چہ گویم یک رگم هشیار نیست * شرح آں یاری کہ آں رایار نیست
خودثنا گفتن زمن ترک ثناست * کایں دلیل هستی و هستی خطاست
شرح ایں هجران و این خون جگر * ایں زماں بگذار یا وقت دگر

گفتمش پوشیده خوشتر سر یار * خود تو در ضمن حکایت گوش دار
خوشتر آن باشد که سر دلبران * گفته آید در حدیث دیگران

(Shams Tabrīz, who is Absolute Light is the Sun and Ray of Divinity,
This moment he has lit my garment which gives fragrance of Joseph,
I told him secretly to hear about the Beloved in form of stories is better
It is better to have secrets of the Beloveds in stories about others.

According to these verses of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, during the composition of his Masnavī and the expression of the sūfīstic principles, he consistently kept Shams, his preceptor in view. The teacher seems to have left the disciple, who made a search for him through his son, who brought him back to Qonīyā for the ecstacy and guidance of his father. The excessive love for Shams created rancour in the minds of some of the disciples of Rūmī ; and Shams also pronounced the innermost secrets publicly in a fit of rapture, which was not relished by the common people, who murdered Shams and fatally injured 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the beloved son of Rūmī in the fracas.

Rūmī by his spiritual discipline is said to have attained the lofty pedestal of a Qutb and according to the tradition of the Mevlevī sect, he appointed Farīdūn Zarkob, the beater of gold leaves as his first Caliph. His special connections with Rūmī were a source of jealousy among his disciples. Farīdūn remained in this position for 10 years and Ḥissām-ud-Dīn bin Ḥasan bin Muḥammad bin Ḥasan was nominated as a Caliph who held this post for 11 years in the lifetime of Rūmī and 12 years after his death. Hissām-ud-Dīn was a special favourite of his teacher Rūmī, and had attained this high position by dint of his scholarship and his traversing through the various stages of piety and spiritual attainments. It was through Ḥissām-ud-Dīn's persuasion and entreaties that the magnum opus of Persian mysticism, the famous Masnavī of Maulānā Rūmī came into being. This Masnavī has been acclaimed as the completest scripture of Sūfīsm and comprises of 26000 verses divided into six books.

The material regarding the biography of Rūmī is very scanty and the only authentic account of some of the incidents of his life we can get, from the Masnavī Ibtidā Nāmāh of his son, Sulṭān Walad ; and also from Manāqibul 'Arfiīn written by Aflāki, disciple of Rūmī's grandson, Chelebi 'Ārif. Rūmī led a life full of esctacy and died on 16th December, 1973 A.D. (672 A.H.) at Qonīyā, where his tomb is a regular place of pilgrimage even to this day.

No definite date can be assigned to the beginning of Masnavī, but it is certain that the second book was started two years after the completion of the first book and it was in the year 662 A.H. that the second book was finished. From this we can infer that the Masnavī must have been started between 657-660 A.H. The break of two years intervening in the first and the second book was due to the death of the wife of Ḥissām-ud-Dīn, who

was virtually the source of inspiration to Rūmī for the writing of this monumental work. Rūmī writes in the beginning of the second book:

مدتے ایں مثنوي تاخیر شد * مهلتے بایست تا خوں شیر شد
چوں ضیا الحق حسام الدیں عناں * باز گردانید زاوج آسماں
چوں بمعراج حقایق رفته بود * بے بهارش غنچه ها نشگفته بود
چوں زدریا سوئے ساحل باز گشت * چنگ شعر مثنوی باساز گشت
مطلع تاریخ ایں سودا و سود * سال هجرت ششصد و شصت ودو بود

(This Masnavī was deferred for some time to allow the wounds to heal up,
When Ḥissām-ud-Dīn, the Divine Light descended from the heights of sky,
Where he went to know the Truths, which could not blossom without his spring,
When from the ocean he came to the coast, again Masnavī's verses were tuned,
The year of this rapture and profit was six hundred sixtytwo Hijri.

The third book of the Masnavī was also started in the name of Ḥissām-ud-Dīn as follows:

اے ضیا الحق حسام الدین بیار * ایں سوم دفتر که سنت شد سه بار

(O Ḥissām-ud-Dīn, Light of God, come this Third Book is begun.)
and in the beginning of the Fourth Book again Ziāul Haq is remembered as follows:

اے ضیا الحق حسام الدین توئی * که گذشت از مه بنورت مثنوي
همت عالی تو ای مرتجی * میکشد ایں را خدا داند کجا
گردن ایں مثنوی را بستهٔ * میکشی آنجا که تو دانستهٔ
مثنوی را چوں تو مبدا بودهٔ * گر فزوں گردد تواش افزودهٔ

(O Ziāulhaq Ḥissām-ud-Dīn, with your light Masnavī has gone beyond Moon,
Your lofty courage takes it God knows where?
You have tied the neck of this Masnavī and taking it to a place you know,
You are the source of this Masnavī, by its elevation you are elevated.)

The Fifth Book opens with the following verses:

شه حسام الدین که نور انجم است * طالب آغاز سفر پنجم است
اے ضیا الحق حسام الدین راد * اوستادان صفا را اوستاد
گر نبودی خلق محجوب و کثیف * ور نبودی خلقها تنگ و ضعیف
در مدیحت داد معنی داد مے * غیر ایں منطق بہ نے بکشاد مے

(Shāh Ḥissām-ud-Dīn, who is light of stars, desires to begin the Fifth travel,
O Ziāulhaq Ḥissām-ud-Dīn the kind, teacher of the teachers of purity,
If the creation would not have been mysterious and opaque and narrow, and old,

In your praise leaving philosophy apart, I would have given explanation of the song of the Reed.

And the Sixth Book begins with:

ای حیات دل حسام‌الدین بسی * میل می جوشد بقسم سادسی

گشت از جذب چو تو علامهٔ * در جهان گردان حسامی نامهٔ

(O life of my heart Ḥissām-ud-Dīn for the Sixth Book I am inspired
By a learned Doctor like you and am repeating your praise incessantly.)

In the course of this last book the teacher reiterates his love for Ḥissām-ud-Dīn in various places such as:

ای ضیاء الحق حسام الدین بیا * ای صقال روح و سلطان الهدی

(O Ziāulhaq Ḥissām-ud-Dīn come, you are brightener of the soul and king of guidance.)

The contents of the Masnavī are continuous anecdotes and parables by narrating which Rūmī gives them the allegorical significance having religious and spiritual bearing by which lofty truths of mysticism are explained and knotty problems of life solved.

Besides Masnavī, Rūmī has to his credit the famous 'Dīwān Shams Tabrīz', a collection of ghazals of mystical import dedicated to Rūmī's teacher, Shams Tabrīz for the influence he had on the former. There is another work by Rūmī, Fih Mā Fih discussing the topics of Masnavī and some quatrains and letters.

## Rūmī as a Writer

Rūmī had before him on one side, a vast structure of thought of purely Islāmic origin, which has for its basis a special conception of life and the universe, and a peculiar conception of conduct which follows from it. On one side was the wisdom of faith and the Qur'ān, and on the other the product of reason. On one side was logic and philosophy and on the other the wisdom of an unlettered Prophet. Added to these were the experiences of Sūfīs, which also present a special conception of life. He is a poet of Islām and his poetry is philosophic. He gives preference to experience over reason. He seeks to fortify the Self instead of denying its reality. He contends that there is no contradiction between the Self and Selflessness if they are rightly understood, that one without the other is indeed vain and meaningless. He believes that Taqdīr (Predestination) does not mean that the actions of each individual have been determined by God beforehand but that Taqdīr is nothing more than the law of life. There is no limit to the progress of man. By the power of his desire and purity of endeavour new worlds may not only be revealed to man but even created by him.

The actual fact is that as a poet we cannot hail the poetry of Rūmī as flawless as he wrote poetry not for the sake of balanced words and beauty of diction but to give vent to his philosophy and message. He was not an

ordinary Sūfī, who travelled on the beaten track for the attainment of salvation or realization of Truth. Mysticism before him was considered to be a passive fatalism as enunciated by Hāfiz and Khayyām, where man has no choice but to resign to the will of God, but Rūmī's mysticism is active and dynamic and it inspires man to break off the shackles of his limitation of vision enforced upon him by the narrow outlook of the ritual side of his religion and to come out of it to realize his Self in its full stature. This message of revolt against the established practices of Sūfism was desired to be given expression to in a way most palatable to the world and Rūmī chose the vehicle of poetry. In the vigour of giving this enthusiastic message, Rūmī has fumbled at places and himself declares:

غیر نطق و غیر ایما و سجل * صد هزاران ترجمان خیزد ز دل

(Without speech, intention and idea, millions of interpretations arise from the heart)

and in the expression of the real message and in the bestowal of ecstacy he had to sacrifice words and phrases as he says that his beloved hearkens him to concentrate on him rather than on the Qāfīyā:

قافیه اندیشم و دلدار من * گویدم مندیش جز دیدار من
حرف و صوت و گفت را برهم زنم * تاکي بے این هرسه باتو دم زنم

The verses of Masnavī are like aphorisms for the explanations of which too large a space is required as in his own words:

گر بریزی بحر را در کوزهٔ * چند گنجد قسمت یک روزهٔ
گر بگویم شرح این بی حد شود * مثنوي هفتاد من کاغذ شود

(How can you confine an ocean in a pot?
If I try to explain my Masnavī, it shall require 70 maunds of paper.)

He therefore pays scanty heed to the form and concentrates on the dissemination of his message with which he is most concerned.

## The Philosophy of Rūmī

Rūmī's philosophy can be summed up in very few words as follows:

1. Reality is one.
2. All phenomena are aspects of the same Reality.
3. As all beings proceed from the Ultimate Reality, so they all tend to return to the same original source.
4. Reality can be perceived to some extent even by reason, provided the reason is comprehensive and not partial.
5. Real knowledge cannot be obtained through logic; perceptual experience is a better guide to it than reason.

6. The real aim of life is that one should perceive Reality through spiritual experience, so that it should again become one with Reality.
7. This spiritual perception is called Love. Knowledge of Reality is inherent in Love.
8. This Love is the main spring of all religious and higher morality. Without Love, religion and morality become mere formal and mechanical. Reason without Love remains in utter darkness.

Rūmī considers the whole universe as emanating from one God and his pantheistic attitude declares that all that exists is God. Our soul is but a ray of His light, which has been severed from its real source and fallen into the engrossment of this base and physical world and is continuously striving to regain its fountain-head and for this passionate yearning to see the beloved, the soul desires to tear off the intervening curtain of the physical body so that it once again becomes one with its source. The lamentations of a reed torn away from the jungle are a living symbol of its insatiable thirst for reaching and realizing its fountain-head. The ignorant suffer because they have forgotten the source and have engaged themselves with the mundane world. Rūmī opens his Masnavī with the 'Song of the Reed' in his own inimitable way and sings in the language of the reed:

بشنو از نے چوں حکایت می کند * وز جدائی ها شکایت می کند
کز نیستاں تا مرا ببریده اند * از نفیرم مرد و زن نالیده اند
سینه خواهم شرحه شرحه از فراق * تا نمایم شرح درد اشتیاق
هر کسے کو دور ماند از اصل خویش * باز جوید روزگار وصل خویش
من به هر جمعیتے نالاں شدم * جفت خوشحالاں و بدحالاں شدم
هر کسے از ظن خود شد یار من * از درون من نه جست اسرار من
آتش است ایں بانگ نای و نیست باد * هر که ایں آتش ندارد نیست باد
آتش عشقست کاندر نی فتاد * جوشش عشقست کاندر مے فتاد

(Hear the reed, how it complains about its separation,
Eversince it has been torn from the jungle, people lament through it.
The bosom is torn into pieces to express the pangs of Love.
Everyone who is cast away from its source again tries to seek the union.
The reed has wept in all congregations and has met lucky and unlucky ones.
Everybody outwardly became the friend without looking into my inner malady.
It is not the wind that is blown through the reed, but it is fire, and he who doesn't have this fire, need not exist.
The fire of Love is blown through the reed and so it is the vigour of Love that is in wine.

The fire of Love is absolutely necessary for burning the dross enveloping the soul:

خام را جز آتش هجر و فراق * کہ پزد کہ وا رهاند از فراق
چوں توئی و تو هنوز از تو نه رفت * سوختن باید تورا در نار تفت
چوں غرض آمد هنر پوشیده شد * صد حجاب از دل بسوئے دیده شد

(A raw can neither ripen nor be delivered except with the fire of separation.
So long as you have egotism in you, you should burn in hot fire,
Purpose blinds attributes and hundred veils are cast before the eyes.)

And when Love shines in its resplendent hues, it becomes the ultimate bliss which can give joy eternal to the searching soul:

شاد باش اے عشق خوش سودائے ما * اے طبیب جمله علت هائے ما
اے علاج نخوت و ناموس ما * اے تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما

(Be happy O my profitable Love, O Physician of all my ailments,
O remedy of my pride and disgrace, You are my Plato and Galen.)

Love, according to Rūmī is the greatest force in human life. It is indescribable in any language and any attempt to describe it merely makes it more baffling. Love presents a paradox inasmuch as in it by giving, we take, and by dying we live. With the help of this unadulterated Love, the soul transcends through all the discriminations and barriers and sees the One Reality coming out in bold relief from every created object. This fact of realizing Unity in diversity is illustrated in a parable of Moses, who got a revelation when he wanted to teach a shepherd boy his own mode of worship and asking him to discard his primitive one.

وحی آمد سوی موسیٰ از خدا * بندهٔ ما را چرا کردی جدا
تو برای وصل کردن آمدی * یا برای فصل کردن آمدی
هرکسی را سیرتی بنهاده ایم * هر کسی را اصطلاحی داده ایم
درحق او مدح و درحق تو ذم * درحق او شهد و در حق تو سم
ما برون را ننگریم و قال را * ما درون را بنگریم و حال را
موسیا آداب دانان دیگرند * سوخته جان وروانان دیگرند
خون شهیدان را زآب اولی تر است * این گنه از صد ثواب اولی تر است
ملت عشق از همه ملت جداست * عاشقاں را مذهب و ملت خداست

(Revelation came to Moses, 'Why have you separated my servant from me?
'You were sent to unite or sever people from me?
'I have given separate nature to everybody and separate technique,
For the shepherd it was praise and for you disgrace, for him honey for you poison,

I do not see the exterior and expression, I see the interior and ecstacy.
O Moses, manners of the wise are different, those who consumed their souls are different.
Martyrs prefer blood to water, to them this sin is better than requital,
The religion of Love is different from all other religions and for the lovers their religion is God.)

To attain this state of mind one has to undergo a rigorous discipline and to live eternally in divine ecstacy. To see the divine in everything eliminating the not-Divine from it ultimately leads one to live in the Infinite. It is illustrated beautifully in some verses when somebody says to Lailā that her beauty is not such as might enrapture a lover for anything extraordinary about it:

از دگر خوباں تو افزوں نیستی * گفت خامش چوں تو مجنوں نیستی
هر که بیدارست او در خواب تر * هست بیداریش از خوابش بتر
چوں به حق بیدار نه بود جان ما * هست بیداری چو در بندان ما
جاں همه روز از لکد کوب خیال * وز زیان و سود وز خوف زوال
نے صفا می ماندش نے لطف و فر * نے بسوئے آسماں راه سفر
خفته آن باشد که او از هر خیال * دارد امید و کند با او مقال
مرغ بر بالا پراں و سایه اش * می دود بر خاک پراں مرغ وش
ابلهی صیاد آں سایه شود * میدود چندانکه بی مایه شود
تیر اندازد بسوی سایه او * ترکشش خالی شود در جستجو

(You are not better than other beloveds, She said, 'Be silent you are not Majnūn,
He who is awake is asleep, his awakening is worse than his sleep,
When our soul is not God-conscious, our awakening is in our bondage,
The soul with daily assault and battery of thought and with the profit and loss and fear of decay,
Loses its purity and grandeur and its flight towards the sky.
He is virtually asleep, who hopes and talks to every thought,
The bird is soaring high and its shadow on earth flies like him,
The fool shoots at the shadow and thus his running for the bird is fruitless,
He casts arrows at the shadow and his quiver is emptied in his vain pursuit.)

For the re-awakening state, it requires many hardships to be undergone:

هر که او بیدار تر پر درد تر * هر که او آگاه تر رخ زرد تر

(He who is more awakened is more suffering, he who is more conscious has paler the face.)

The Sūfism of Rūmī is not the Sūfism of a fatalist, who shuns action, shirks work and depends only on the Will of God resigning himself entirely

to it. A Sūfī must endeavour hard and work strenuously for the achievement of his ideal and after putting in all efforts, he should depend on the Will of God. A person went to Prophet Muḥammad telling him that he left his camel in the desert to the care of God, and the Prophet remonstrated him that first he should tie up camel's knee and then depend on God's grace:

گفت پیغمبر بآواز بلند * با توکل زانوئے اشتر بہ بند
رمز الکاسب حبیب الله شنو * از توکل در سبب کاهل مشو
در توکل جهد کسب اولی تر است * زانکه در ضمن محبت مضمر است
گر توکل می کنی در کار کن * کشت کن پس تکیه بر جبار کن

(The Prophet said loudly to depend on God and tie the camel's knee,
Hear the secret of, 'A worker is God's friend', with dependence on God, don't be slow in your efforts.
In dependence, effort is foremost and it is hidden in love.
If you depend, depend on effort, first sow the seed then rely on God.)

Rūmī preaches a life of ceaseless activity and endless struggling to attain personal freedom and immortality. He goes even so far as to say, (کوشش بی هوده به از خفتگی Useless striving is better than inaction.) According to Rūmī, God is not an abstract and absolutely attributeless Being. He loves activity. The Sovereign ruling the universe cannot sit idle. He loves movement, therefore even a useless effort is better than passivity. He preaches a life of ceaseless activity and endeavour. Rūmī has his definite views in favour of the following:

(1) Perfect or Ideal Man. مرد کامل
(2) Love.
(3) Relationship between the finite ego and the Infinite Ego.
(4) Achievement of immortality.

Therefore Faqr or Darweshī is not determined by not possessing any worldly things or doing any worldly action, but it is to shake off all pride and egotism and to concentrate on God. For a true seeker all physical things which are misunderstood as hurdles can be made into means for the achievement of this sublime ideal. It is the sublimation of these impediments which leads us to our goal. One may be in the world but not *of* it:

چیست دنیا از خدا غافل بدن * نے قماش و نے زرو فرزند و زن
مال را کز بهر دین باشی حمول * نعم مال صالح و خواندش رسول
آب در کشتی هلاک کشتی است * آب اندر زیر کشتی پشتی است

(What is this world? To forget God? Not to indulge in avocation, gold, son and wife?
The earthly belongings are carried for religion, the Prophet has said that let these be utilised for good.
Water in the barge means its destruction, but below, it is a means.)

According to Rūmī it is open to us all to be Perfect Men and these individuals do not represent any aristocracy. The Perfect Man can work miracles and He in Himself is a miracle. In every age, Rūmī maintains, that there is an individual who is an Ideal Man, just like the following pronouncement in the Bhāgavad Gītā, wherein it is clearly stated:

यदा यदाहि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भवामि युगे युगे ॥

Very ably translated into Persian by Faizī as:

چو بنیاد دیں سست گرد بسے * نمائیم خود را بشکل کسے

(When there is decay of righteousness and exaltation of unrighteousness, for the protection of the good and the destruction of the evil, I take My birth.) IV—7, 8.

This dynamic Sūfism of Rūmī was a revolution against the opiates of Hāfiz and Khayyām and he urged every seeker to action and continuous action till one consumes oneself in harness.

This diversity of languages should not be a cause of estrangement. Simultaneous throbbing of the heart is a great factor to unite different people and the unity of hearts is better than the unity of the language:

چونکه بے رنگی اسیر رنگ شد * موسئی با موسئی درجنگ شد
اے بسا هندو و ترک همزباں * اے بسادوترک چوں بیگانگاں
پس زباں هم دلی خود دیگراست * همدلی از همزبانی بهتر است

Reason and argument are not powerful means for the establishment of Truth:

پائے استدلالیاں چوبیں بود * پائے چوبیں سخت بے تمکیں بود

The feet of argumentators are wooden
And wooden feet are very flimsy.

The revolutionary message of great importance delivered by Rūmī at a time when he lived was pertaining to the three most important theories of philosophy which are:

1. The theory of Evolution.
2. The Eternality of the soul.
3. The transmigration of the soul.

*The Theory of Evolution*: Rūmī traces the gradual evolution of the human soul and explains how from the inanimate state the soul ascended to its human form and he holds out the hope that this very human soul has the potentiality to become Divine. It may be of interest to note that

Darwin's theory was in regard to the evolution of the human body and Rūmī's is that of the soul, which is entirely Hindu in outlook but has a sanction from Islam also:

ولقد خلقنا الانسان من سلالة من طين ثم جعلناه نطفة في قرار مكين
ثم خلقنا النطفه علقة فخلقنا العلقته مضغة فخلقنا المضغة عظاما فكسونا العظام
لحماً ثم انشاناه خلقا آخر *

The inorganic matter ceases to exist as such as it assumes organic life in a plant, which in its turn can become a part of animal life. So Rūmī argues, if by assimilation matter can progress to man, there can be no obstacle in the way of evolution of man to the Infinite Ego by acquiring the qualities of God.

Two passages are quoted below which give the gradual evolution of the soul and its possible climax:

آمده اول به اقلیم جماد * از جمادی در نباتی اوفتاد
سالها اندر نباتی عمر کرد * وز جمادی یاد ناورد از نبرد
وز نباتی چون به حیوانی فتاد * نامدش حال نباتی هیچ یاد
همچون این اقلیم تا اقلیم رفت * تا شدا کنون عاقل و دانا و زفت
عقلهای اولینش یاد نیست * هم ازین عقلش تحول کرد نیست
تا رهد زین عقل پر حرص و طلب * صد هزاران عقل بیند بوالعجب
گرچه خفته گشت و شد ناسی زپیش * کی گزارندش درآن نسیان خویش
باز ازان خوابش به بیداری کشند * تا کند برحالت خود ریشخند

---

همچو سبزه بارها روئیده ام * هفت صد هفتاد قالب دیده ام
از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم * وز نما مردم به حیوان سر زدم
مردم از حیوانی و آدم شدم * پس چه ترسم کی ز مردن کم شدم
حملهٔ دیگر بمیرم از بشر * تا بر آرم از ملائک بال و پر
از ملک هم بائدم جستن ز جو * کل شی هالک الا وجه
پس عدم گردم عدم چون ارغنون * گویدم انا الیها راجعون
بار دیگر از ملک پران شوم * آن چه اندر وهم نا یدآن شوم

As regards the achievement of immortality, Rūmī has a strong belief in the survival of personality. He maintains that real immortality is association with God by getting rid of limited and conditioned individuality. The individual is lost as the candle or the stars are lost in the morning in the overwhelming effulgence of the light of the Sun. To illustrate annihilation

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* *Qur'án* xxiii, 14.

of the self by being clothed with divine attributes, Rūmī uses the analogy of red-hot iron in fire. The iron takes the attributes of fire without entirely losing its own individual essence. In that state it can claim to be fire as well as iron. Rūmī wants to convince man that his real self, far from being a product of nature, is the source of all nature. In his transcendental aspect, man is already immortal, and by development, he can achieve personal immortality.

The *eternality* and the *transmigration* of the soul are evident from the above passages also ; but a pointed reference to it is made by Rūmī in the following verses of the Masnavī:

لوح را اول بشوید بے وقوف * آنگہے بروی نویسد او حروف
وقت شستن لوح را باید شناخت * که مر آں را دفتری خواهند ساخت
چوں اساس خانهٔ نو افگنند * اولیں بنیاد را بر می کنند
گل برآرند اول از قعر زمیں * تا به آخر بر کشی ماۓ معین
کاغذے جوید که آں بنوشتهٔ نیست * تخم کارد موضع که کشتهٔ نیست
هستی اندر نیستی بتواں نمود * مال داراں بر فقیر آرند جود

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تو ازاں روزے که در هست آمدی * آتشی یا خاکی یا بادی بدی
گر بداں حالت ترا بودے بقا * کے رسیدے مر ترا ایں ارتقا
از مبدل هستئی اول نماند * هستئی دیگر بجای او نشاند
همچنیں با صد هزاراں هست ها * بعد یک دیگر دوم به ز ابتدا
ایں بقا ها از فنا ها یافتی * از فنا پس رو چرا بر تافتی
زاں فنا ها چه زیاں بودت که تا * بر بقا چسپیدهٔ اے بے نوا
چوں دوم از اولیت بهتر است * پس فنا جو و مبدل را پرست
صد هزاراں حشر دیدی اے عنود * تا کنوں هر لحظه از بد و وجود
از جمادی بے خبر سوئے نما * وز نما سوئے حیات و ابتلا
باز سوئے عقل و تمیزات خویش * باز سوئے خارج ایں پنج و شش
در فنا ها ایں بقا ها دیدهٔ * بر بقائے جسم چوں چسپیدهٔ
تازه می گیر و کهن را می سپار * که هر امسالت فزونست از سه پار

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جاں همه نورست وتن رنگست وبو * رنگ و بو بگزار و دیگر آں مگو
رنگ دیگر شد و لیکن جان پاک * فارغ از رنگست و از ارکان خاک
چوں زره داں ایں تن پر حیف را * نے شتا را شاید ایں نه صیف را

زیں بدن اندر عذابی ای پسر * مرغ روحت بسته با جنس دگر
روح باز است و طبائع زاغها * دارد از زاغان و چغدان داغها

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کدام دانه فرو رفت در زمین که نه رست * چرا به دانهٔ انسانت این گمان باشد

It is evident from Rūmi's Masnavī that the author has an immense wealth of thought before him. He is neither a jurist nor a philosopher nor yet a poet, but with regard to basic truths, he possesses a profound comprehension which scorns imitation. He cares little for logical contradictions in the expression of his thoughts and sentiments, for it was not his object to found a system of philosophy or theology. So he adopted verse in place of prose as his instrument of expression, which helped to maintain consistency of argument without the necessity of removing logical inconsistencies. He does not care to produce a beggar's cloak of patches by putting together fractions of conflicting doctrines and theories, nor is his brain the beggar's bowl containing pieces of bread of many kinds. A great thinker's thought is always creative. He uses the many and contradictory opinions current before him as his raw materials. In his mind is a new picture which he paints with colours of old, but whose outlines and features are his own. He conceives a new structure, but for its building, he procures bricks and stones from ancient ruins.

THE DĪWÂN OF SHAMS TABRĪZ

In it we find the best specimens of mystic ghazals replete with truths of spirituality expressed in simple and forceful language. The ghazals numbering about 2500 also reiterate the cardinal philosophy of Sūfism and present it in unambiguous terms palatable to all without having violated any commandment of any religious scripture. A selection of some very penetrating verses is given below to illustrate the flights of imagination, which are scalable only by highly developed and disciplined Sūfis. There is a divine rapture running through the ghazals which can be enjoyed by people of every status: Those well-versed in Sūfism can derive ecstacy from them. The language, diction, metaphors and similes afford the reader a supreme joy which can enable him to forget the worries of the world as this poetry belongs to the ephemeral sphere and sings of metaphysical tunes. Many a poet has derived his inspiration from these verses and achieved salvation by transcending all barriers which impede his progress to realization. He finds himself in tune with the Infinite where he declares himself to be Self, the Divinity and the microcosm of the macrocosm. There is continuity in his ghazals. About *tauhīd*, Rūmī says:

بنمائے رخ که باغ و گلستانم آرزوست * بگشائے لب که قند فراوانم آرزوست
یکدست جام باده و یکدست زلف یار * رقص چنین میانهٔ میدانم آرزوست
گفتا ز ناز بیش مرنجان مرا برو * آن گفتنش که بیش مرنجانم آرزوست

دي شيخ با چراغ همی گشت گرد شهر* کز دام و دد ملولم و انسانم آرزوست
زين همرهان سست عناصر دلم گرفت* شير خدا و رستم دستانم آرزوست
گفتم که یافت می نشود جستهٔ ایم ما *گفت آنکه یافت می نشود آنم آرزوست

---

جز ما اگرت عاشق شیدا است بگو * ور میل دلت بجانب ماست بگو
گر هیچ مرا در دل تو جاست بگو * گر هست بگو نیست بگو راست بگو

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بنمودمے نشانے ز جمال او و لیکن * دو جہاں بہم بر آید سر شور و شر ندارم

---

اگر تو یار نداري چرا طلب نه کني * وگر بیار رسیدي چرا طرب نه کنی

---

من از عالم ترا تنها گزیدم * روا داري که من تنها نشینم

---

ما دل اندر راه جاں انداختیم * غلغله اندر جہاں انداختیم
من ز قرآں بر گزیدم مغز را * پوست را پیش سگاں انداختیم
تخم اقبال و سعادت تا ابد * از زمیں تا آسماں انداختیم
جبه و دستار و علم و قیل و قال * جمله در آب رواں انداختیم
از کمال شوق تیر معرفت * راست کرده بر نشاں انداختیم

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باز از پستی سوئے بالا شدم * طالب آں دلبر زیبا شدم
آشنائی داشتم ز آنسوئے جاں * باز زانجا کامدم آنجا شدم
چار بودم سه شدم اکنوں دوم * از دوئی بگذشتم و یکتا شدم
جاهلاں امروز را فردا کنند * من به نقد امروز را فردا شدم

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آنانکه طلبگار خدائید خدائید * حاجت به طلب نیست شمائید شمائید
چیزے که نکردید گم ازبهر چه جوئید * کس غیر شمانیست کجائید کجائید
در خانه نشینید و مگردید به هر رو * زیرا که شما خانه وهم خانه خدائید
ذاتید وصفاتید گہے عرش گہے فرش * در عین بقائید و مبرا ز فنائید
حرفید و حروفید و کلامید و کتابید * جبریل امینید و رسولان سمائید

---

اے قوم به حج رفته کجائید کجائید * معشوق همیں جاست بیائید بیائید
معشوق تو همسایه دیوار بدیوار * در وادیه سرگشته شما درچه هوائید
گر صورت بیصورت معشوق ببینید * هم خواجه و هم بنده و هم قبله شمائید
گر قصد شما دیدن آں کعبۂ جان است * اول رخ آئینه بصیقل بزدائید

In paying tribute to the genius of Rūmi, we pay homage to the memory of one, who forged a cultural unity between Irān and India through his rapturous philosophy of Sūfism. Sūfism and Vedānta are the two independent growths of these two countries, which have paved the way for the rest of the world towards amity and peace. Countries of the world today are warring for certain personal idiosyncracies of certain individuals, who want to see the fulfilment of their ambitions by forcibly imposing their ideologies on others. Vedānta and Sūfism both teach that all these differences which apparently are far from conciliation, in reality do not exist. The clashes that occur everyday in the world are the creation of ignorance and when ignorance is removed, clashes disappear and unity is experienced in diversity. Truth is the same everywhere, though it is known by different names in different languages. Water poured in different vessels though assumes different shapes but does not change in essence. The entire universe is the manifestation of one Divinity and by the method of elimination as enunciated in Vedānta by नेति नेति (not this) or by لا in Sūfism, the seeker realizes it. He finds that the difference lies only in non-essentials. It is this removal of ignorance which is desired by persons belonging to different denominations and is accomplished by different methods of knowledge, devotion and action. ज्ञान, भक्ति, कर्म or علم, عشق, عمل. When the goal is one, it is immaterial whether one reaches it one way or the other. We have to broaden our outlook in the words of the Bhāgavad Gītā:

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः

In whatever way men worship Me, in the same way do I fulfil their desires: (it is) My path, O son of Pritha, (that) men tread in all ways. (IV—11).

Or in the words of 'Urfī, an ambassador of Irānian culture to India in the times of Akbar:

هرگز مگو که کعبه ز بتخانه خوشتر است * هر جا که هست جلوۂ جانانه خوشتر است

"Do not say Kaaba is better than the idol-temple, wherever there is the beauty of the Beloved, that place is good", and have an aeroplanic view of all problems. We have to rise above petty differences and march onwards for the betterment of the world as a whole, not confining ourselves to one

compartment or the other. How beautifully it was illustrated to me when I came out of Pākistān after partition in an aeroplane and I found that from lofty heights, the high and the low buildings on the surface of the earth appeared quite of the same level. A verse of Khwājā Dil Muḥammad, an Urdū poet expresses it in remarkable words:

حقیقت ذرا ہوشمندی سے دیکھہ * برا بر ہیں سب گھر بلندی سے دیکھہ

And if we get the width of vision by our study of Rūmī, we will certainly have paid appropriate homage to the great mystic whose message can well be represented in the following words of Mahābhārata:

धर्मेतेधीयतां बुद्धिर्मनस्ते महदस्तु च

(Firm on faith and large in heart)

It is a message which emanates from a person who has been endowed with the head of Shaṇkar and heart of Buddhā. Our salutations to him.

# THE PERSIAN SCENE

*by Fr. V. Courtois S.J.*

*Momentous Changes.*—The protracted tussle between Iran's Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Mossadegh and His Majesty the Shah led to a crisis on August 15th, 1953 when the Shah dismissed Prime Minister Mossadegh and appointed in his place General Fazlullah Zahedi. But Mr. M. Mossadegh refused to relinquish power and had to be forced to do so by recourse to arms. Meanwhile His Imperial Majesty Mohammed Reza Pahlevi accompanied by Queen Soraya retired from the scene to Baghdad and to Rome so that the people might choose unhampered between the Iranian Constitution which he represents and had all through defended, and the new Dictatorship to which the Mossadegh regime was leading.

*General Zahedi.*—Fazlullah Zahedi, now 56, was a brigadier-general at 25. Twice he was Chief of Police at Tehran, a job which demands much skill and often diplomacy. During World War II when Shah Reza Pahlavi was forced to abdicate his throne, Zahedi was in charge of the Ispahan military district in the South. But the allies then distrusted him and he was sent to Palestine till the end of the war. When Mr. M. Mossadegh came to power, he made Zahedi his Minister for the Interior. Gen. Zahedi helped the P. M. in his campaign for the nationalization of the oil; but when Dr. Mossadegh began to show exaggerated sympathies for the outlawed Tudeh Party (the Party of the Masses—Communist), Gen. Zahedi disagreed with the P. M. and left his camp. But the Shah appointed Gen. Zahedi a Senator thus giving him immunity from arrest whilst enabling him to put a brake on M. Mossadegh's administration. In October 1952, however, Dr. Mossadegh dissolved the Senate and kept Zahedi for a time under arrest. When Dr. Mossodegh's Chief of Police, Afshár Tús, was murdered, the P. M. tried to implicate Gen. Zahedi and to arrest him ; but Gen. Zahedi sought sanctuary in the Majlis and when these also were dissolved he took refuge with the Commander of the Shah's Imperial Guard. And then he was made Prime Minister.

*America on the Breach.*—Prime Minister Mossadegh's 28 months rule left the country's treasury empty. His administration is said to have cost the nation 544 million dollars and was heading for total bankruptcy. "The treasury is empty ; we need help in the next few days", the Shah declared to Newspaper reporters on his return to Tehran. America, therefore, stepped into the breach in an attempt to foil Red designs on Iran and to help the wounded country to recover. The U.S.A. State Department sanctioned an immediate 43 million dollars to be followed by regular monthly allowances. Meanwhile steps must be taken to get the oil flowing again, the main source of national income.

*Mossadegh tried.*—The former Premier, Mohammed Mossadegh, was tried by special Military Court at Sultanabad Barracks on charges of plotting to overthrow Iran's constitutional Government after having been dismissed from office. His Majesty the Shah who once before had saved Mr. Mossadegh from the wrath of his august Father, showed magnanimity again and put in a plea for a lenient sentence in view of the political past of the old Leader. On December 21st, the 74 years old ex-Premier was condemned to three years solitary confinement.

*Towards Recovery.*—It is learned that His Imperial Majesty the Shah is putting pressure on his ministers to hasten economic and social reforms. He claimed back the Royal Family Estate taken by M. Mossadegh several months earlier to prevent the Shah from distributing the land among the lasdless peasants. The Shah has now decided to parctl out his estate to the peasants on small payment, and to finance special loans to be given to the farmers for development purpose. The Ispahan irrigation scheme, the hydro-electric supply scheme for Tehran, the completion of the Tehran-Tabriz railway, a special low cost housing scheme for workers are plans actively pushed ahead. The country's agriculture is to be mechanized as fast as means can allow. The Government is contemplating purchasing some 1100 tractors.

*Irrigations Scheme.*—The great problem of Iran is always water. To help solving the irrigation problem a new dam was built on the Helmend river and several pumping stations on the Kárún river. Another dam is under construction on the Karkeh river with a reservoir of 40 million cubic meters. Other projects are under active consideration ; the plain in the southern part of Khouzistan is to be irrigated, and the Sefid Roud is to be utilized to improve the water supply necessary for the cultivation of rice.

*Livestock from U.S.A.*—In the second half of 1953 the U.S.A. shipped some 1,400 heads of livestock to Iran as part of the Point IV Programme. The aim in view is the improvement of the breed. The livestock imported consisted of 755 Rambouillet rams, 320 ewes, 250 dairy goats, 20 Swiss bulls and 20 Swiss heifers.

*Reforestation.*—The depleted areas of the great Elburz forests are being steadily replanted ; already over 50,000 new trees have been replanted. The programme is designed to halt erosion of fertile soil.

*The International Tehran Fair.*—To foster international trade the Iranian Government has decided to hold annually an international Fair in February. All the firms which build booths or pavillions are entitled to use them for five years free of rents. The building cost of the booths and pavillions to be erected by the fair administration is expected to cost between 350 and 500 rials per square meter. Foreign goods to be displayed at the fair may be imported duty free. Special travelling facilities are offered to foreign participants ; they will be granted 50% discount on rail travel and 25% for their goods.

*The Exchange Rate.*—The new Government has decided to fix the following rates for foreign exchange:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 U.S.A. Dollar | ... | ... | 100 rials |
| 1 Pound Sterling | ... | ... | 265 rials |
| 100 French Francs | ... | ... | 24,37 rials |
| 100 Belgian Francs | ... | ... | 192 rials |
| 1 Swiss Franc | ... | ... | 23,35 rials |
| 1 Indian Rupee | ... | .. | 19,05 rials |

The Bank Melli will cut down the rate for the U.S. dollar in successive steps from 100 rials to 90 until March 1954. On August 2, 1953 the first cut to 98 rials was effected.

*Church Missionary Society's Hospital.*—By order of the Premier M. Mossadegh the Hospital run by the Church Missionary Society at Ispahan had been closed depriving numerous poor people of medical aid ; the Rev. Norman Sharp had also been expelled from Iran on ground of spying for a foreign country. The new Government has reversed the decisions and asked the Church Missionary Society to reopen its hospital at Ispahan and to the Rev. N. Sharp to return to Shiraz.

*The Oil to Flow Again.*—At the invitation of the Iranian Government an international consortium was formed with the view of restarting the big Abadan refinery and marketing Iranian oil. The consortium comprises the eight major oil companies of the world: The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the Socony-Vacuum Company, the Texas Oil Company, the Standard Oil Company of California, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Gulf Oil Company, Dutch Shell and the French Petroleum Company.

A 20-man team representing those companies visited Abadan recently to assess the extent of depreciation undergone by the refinery and other installation since the oil industry came to a virtual standstill after the nationalization. The experts found that the Iranian engineers who were in charge of the maintenance of the plant since the departure of the AIOC had done a very commendable job under difficult circumstances.

Formal negotiations between the Iranian Government and the Consortium for the resumption of the Oil industry were to begin before the Iranian New Year which falls on March 21.

*New Notes for Iran.*—The British Firm, Bradbury, Wilkinson and Co. has been given a £400,000 contract for printing bank notes for the Bank Melli Iran, the Iranian National Bank.

The firm used to print bank notes for Iran until the crisis over the oil in 1951.

*The Shah in the Majlis and Senate.*—On March 18th at Tehran the Shah of Iran inaugurated both the House of Parliament, the Majlis and the Senate.

He urged unity of effort and co-operation between the two Houses to achieve the well-being of the people of Iran. He declared that Iran would maintain friendly relations with all nations based on mutual respect and on the principles of the U. N. Charter. Iranian security forces should be strengthened and the fullest use should be made of underground and natural resources. He firmly hoped that the oil problem would be solved in accordance with the nationalization law, and endeavours made to end the country's financial crisis.—

# AVICENNA MILLENARY CELEBRATIONS

Under the august patronage of His Imperial Majesty the Shahenshah of Iran, the Minister of Education and the President of the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments the Millenary of the great savant Avicenna is going to be celebrated in Tehran and Hamadan for ten days commencing from 21st April, 1954 (1st of Ordibehesht 1333). Invitations are being sent out to scholars and to representatives of Societies interested in Iranian learning and culture to attend the function. It is a matter of great pride that the Iran Society has also been honoured with an invitation to its Honorary Secretary for participation in the Avicenna Millenary Celebrations.

The tentative programme of the Celebrations is given below:—

**Wednesday 21st April, 1954—First Day**

*Morning*

Inaugural Address by His Imperial Majesty the Shahenshah.

Speech by the Minister of Education.

Speech by the President of the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments.

Speech by the Chancellor of the University of Tehran.

Speeches by Heads of Foreign Missions.

*Adjournment for rest*

Election of the Board of Directors.

*Afternoon*

Signing the register of Their Imperial Majesties and visit to the Mausoleum of the Late Shah.

Leaving cards for the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Education and the President of the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments: the Minister of the Imperial Court and the Chancellor of University of Tehran.

**Thursday, 22nd April, 1954—Second Day**

*Morning*

Congress

1. Six lectures (15 minutes each) from 8.30 a.m. to 10.00 a.m.
2. Adjournment for rest.
3. Four lectures (15 minutes each) from 10.30 a.m. to 12.30 a.m.

Morning Session ends at 12.30 p.m.

*Afternoon*

1. Visit to the Exhibition of works by Avicenna, from 4.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.
2. Congress from 6.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.
3. Dinner 9.00 p.m.

**Friday 23rd April, 1954—Third Day**

*Morning*

Rest.

*Afternoon*

1. Athletic programme at Amjadieh 4.00 p.m.
2. Dinner.

**Saturday, 24th April, 1954—Fourth Day**

*Morning*

Congress as on Second day.

*Afternoon*

Visit to the Sepah Salar Mosque and
The Library of the Majlis 4.00 p.m.

*Evening*

Theatre

**Sunday, 25th April, 1954—Fifth Day**

*Morning*

Meeting of Congress as on previous day.

*Afternoon*

1. Visit to the Archaeological Museum 4.00 p.m.
from 6.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m

**Monday, 26th April, 1954—Sixth Day**

*Morning*

Congress.

*Afternoon*

1. Visit to the Archaeological Museum
the Museum of National Arts 4.00 p.m.
2. Dinner at the Ministry of Education 8.30 p.m.

**Tuesday, 27th April, 1954—Seventh Day**

*Morning*

Congress 8.30 a.m.

*Afternoon*

1. Final meeting of the Congress
2. Dinner given by the Government

**Wednesday, 28th April 1954—Eighth Day**

*Morning*

Departure for Hamadan 6.00 a.m.

*Afternoon*

Opening Ceremony of the Mausoleum 5.00 p.m.

**Thursday, 29th April, 1954—Ninth Day**

*Morning*

Unveiling of the Statue of Avicenna 9.00 a.m.
(a tour of the city)

Rest

*Afternoon*

Departure for Tehran 2.00 p.m.

**Friday 30th April, 1954—Tenth Day**

*Morning*

Rest

*Afternoon*

Visit to the University of Tehran.
Dinner given by the Chancellor of the University.

It may be mentioned here that the Council of the Iran Society are making preparations to celebrate the Millenary of Avicenna in November next on the same scale as the Millenary of Al-Biruni was celebrated by the Society under the Presidentship of our patron His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, in March, 1952.

As part of the celebrations, the Iran Society will publish an *Avicenna Commemoration Volume.*

# A CHRONICLE OF INDO-IRANIAN STUDIES

*By Dr. J. C. Tavadia, Hamburg University*

## 1. R. G. KENT'S WORK ON OLD PERSIAN

OLD Persian forms a very small part in the vast field of Iranistic, but it is the most fortunate one in that it is very assiduously cultivated, whereas a number of the other sub-branches are almost neglected. Well might the historian A. T. Olmstead say: "One small but able group, students of Indo-European philosophy, subjected the few Old Persian inscriptions to the most intensive scrutiny ever undergone by so scant a literature. "It is however not the comparative philologist alone who is drawn to this field. Representatives of other disciplines like Ancient History, Assyriology, and above all Iranistic are interested in the interpretation of these records on the rocks. Whenever a new inscription comes to light, however small or insignificant it may be, it is attacked at once and also repeatedly by a number of scholars in various countries. Quite contrary is the case with "Pahlavi" inscriptions ; there are not even standard editions, scholarly text-books, and other such studies easily accessible. The whole Pahlavi literature suffers from this neglect, which is of course chiefly due to the cursive and ideographic script further spoiled and mutilated by the scribes. Old Persian is fortunate in having a much clearer writing and of course has come down to us as left by its writers—without the mutilations by later custodians as happens in the case of literary documents. Damage done by the ravages of time is indeed there, but science and patience and ingenuity have tried to remove it as far as possible. There have been excellent workers on the spot as well as in the studies. Among the latter the American specialist the late lamented R. G. Kent can easily be called the most prominent at present ; and among the former also we have now a countryman of his, George G. Cameron, whose re-examination of the great Behistun inscription has happily solved many a knotty problem. The full results of his enterprising task are not yet made available by him. But a number of new readings were passed on to other workers like Kent and Benveniste with great selflessness and high sense of duty to science, and so we have received a foretaste of what is to come.

Kent's numerous contributions on Old Persian are well known to the specialist ; but they may not be easily accessible to all, since they are dispersed in the columns of ***Language*** and other American Journals. Recently he has combined all the efforts of his and others in one comprehensive volume giving Grammar, Texts and Lexicon. It is published by the American Oriental Society (New Haven, Connecticut, 1950) as Volume 33 of its series. Such a treatment coming from such a scholar must be welcome to all and sundry. And it is to be hoped that Indian students also—whatever be

their number and however limited be their interest—will be led by the safe and solid and, let it be emphasised, clear guide, so that they can get a proper view and right knowledge of the subject. Enough has been said on this point elsewere. (*Tavadia, Indo-Iranian Studies I* 13 ff.)

The author being what one may call an Indo-Germanist and not an Iranist as such, his treatment of Old Persian is carried out from the standpoint of Indo-European Linguistics. He compares it with the sister languages rather than with the daughter tongues, and thereby gives a goodly representation to cognates outside the Indo-Iranian. But this is done in such a clear and simple manner that one finds one's way easily through it without any feeling of obscurity and difficulty. As to the texts, he had, thanks to the courtesy of Dr. Erich Schmidt, generous permission to include new pieces found by the Persepolis Expedition and to use the evidence of its photographs of inscriptions already known as well as of those newly discovered. Moreover, as said above, Dr. Cameron transmitted the chief results of his re-examination of the Behistun inscription. It is a pity that the whole evidence was not made available for the inclusion in the present volume which is sure to remain our standard reference work for years. The translation is given on opposite pages. And the Lexicon is complete in every respect, with references to the text, grammar, etc.

It was with the greatest interest and not less benefit that the present writer went through the work when it came to his hands. A list of Additions and Corrections, as regards minor slips or errors of judgment or differences of opinion, was also prepared ; but unfortunately it could not be put into final form. Before that is done may this short notice serve its purpose!

## 2. ARCHAEOLOGICA ORIENTALIA

### in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld

Thanks to the munificence of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where the late lamented Prof. Ernst Herzfeld worked during the last years of his life as one of its first and most distinguished members, and also thanks to the enterprise of J. J. Augustin (Locust Valley, New York) in whose well equipped Press at Glückstadt near Hamburg the most of his German writings were printed,—this handsome volume of excellent studies in Oriental archaeology is brought out in memory of that renowned and remarkable scholar. Renowned because he was connected with various seats of learning all over the world, remarkable because he was architect, historian, archaelogist, philologist,—all in one. Besides this versatility he was endowed with the precious gift of creative imagination. The theories that were evolved out of his active intuition have now often become the working hypotheses of the sceptics themselves, as his biographer remarks. To this I may add

what I myself have said elsewhere: Herzfeld was an eminent archaeologist but his knowledge of Iranian languages, history, geography etc. was not less profound. His command over original sources as well as over the work done on them was astounding. His contribution has the same character, both in value and volume. (Presidential address to the Iranian Section, All India Oriental Conference Bombay 1949, *Proceedings and Transactions*, 111, also published in my *Indo-Iranian Studies* I, p. 25). No wonder that the complete bibliography of Herzfeld's work covers several pages. The curious will find it in *Ars Islamica* 7.82-92, supplemented at the end of the present volume p. 279 f. His principal works on Iranian are too well known to require a mention here. They and especially *Zoroaster and His World* will long remain our standard guides as well as sources of inspiration for further research. It should not be denied that there is much that is doubtful and even wrong ; but looked with the eyes of sympathy and judged with those of criticism that too would lead us to light and truth. For, what helps' is to be valued not only on account of its correctness but also on account of its stirring and suggestive qualities. Indeed, Herzfeld indulged a little too much astray in these qualities occasionally. One may compare what I say about his interpretation of some Gathic strophes in my *Indo-Iranian Studies* II.—The first three Gathas of Zarathustra.

Soon after that monumental work Herzfeld's death came as a sudden blow from the blue. It put a cruel end to his fruitful activity. He died in harness. When he was busy on an important contribution on Aleppo to the Corpus *Inscriptionum Arabicarum* at Cairo he was overtaken by a fatal illness. Though at once removed to Switzerland for treatment he died at Basel in January 21, 1948, at the age of 68. Had life been spared to him he would have carried on his work for still another decade or so thereby advancing the cause of Orientalistics and enriching our knowledge about it. Such was his restless genius indeed.

In spite of all that superb knowledge and achievement he was free from false pride and superciliousness. It is another matter if he was sometimes too much convinced of his own views and lightly dismissed the contrary ones as erroneous. The present writer had not the pleasure of his personal acqaintance but having been in occasional correspondence with him can say that the great master was always willing to help and guide fellow-workers. It is also said that his was a genial nature. No wonder therefore that one meets with touches of his wit and humour even in the midst of serious argument. His approach to the study of the dead past was not dry and devoid of humane interest.

For a man of such high qualities of head and heart it was but natural that some steps were taken to preserve his memory. Happily a few American colleagues thought of bringing out a Memorial Volume in his honour as a posthumous tribute. The result is the stately book under review. Some thirty contributions covering and reflecting in a measure the wide interests

of the deceased are brought together from various countries. There is however little doubt that many more scholars would have willingly joined in this meritorious task, but the circle of contributors seems to have been purposely limited. As it is we have a collection of excellent articles, mostly concerning art and archaeology, a few on literary and linguistic problems.

To deal with every individual contribution would be a severe task, but some may be selected for a couple of general remarks. Mehdi Bahrami's article "A Gold Medal in the Freer Gallery of Art" shows once more how Sasanian tradition in matters artistic persists long after the downfall of the dynasty, so much so that the Pahlavi script and even Zoroastrian phraseology appear in full force. A similar Iranian influence in the manner of writing is to be seen in R. N. Frye's "Pahlavi Heterography in Ancient Georgia?" (By the way, why this new spelling "Pahlevi" for the usual and well established Pahlavi? In the next article still another spelling is used! This perhaps shows how Pahlavi as a branch of Iranistic is on the whole an unknown quantity!) The author supports the view of Freiman that the so-called Armazi is an attempt to write a form of ancient Georgian in Aramaic, and formulates his own opinion thus: "In other words, a form of Pahlevi was used in the Caucasus in the second century A.D.—probably brought from Iran—and Armazi represents a very early form of ancient Georgian. "The second part is quite clear and also correct, not so the first part about a form of Pahlavi being introduced in the Caucasus because of the addition "probably brought from Iran" ;—Pahlavi can be brought and introduced from Iran only! Anyhow the fact remains that the manner of writing Pahlavi—with Aramaic words as "ideograms", seems to be adopted in the Caucasus for a local dialect. Those who have still doubts about this manner of writing, here called heterography, may do well to read the author's account thereon, which shows that the system is widely spread and has played a not unimportant role in many sections of the Nearer and Farther East throughout history.

Next two articles in French are more directly and personally connected with Herzfeld. One of them is by R. Ghirshman dealing with some Iranian seals preserved in the Calcutta Museum. For want of capable specialists on the spot or even in the country many such treasures lie unappreciated. The custodians therefore must seek the co-operation of others. The photographs of the Calcutta seals were brought by Herzfeld himself about a quarter century ago but he was debarred from publishing them. Happily he passed them over just a little before his death to the author, who has taken the first opportunity to study them and to give his interesting results. The seals bear legends in Tokharian, Parthian (or Arsacid Pahlavi) and "Parsian" (or Sasanian Pahlavi) most of which are excellently deciphered and commented upon. One of the Tokharian legends in the name *Aśgagosa* which at once reminds one of the famous poet and scholar Aśvagosa. Another runs *auxramsta bago* "Hormizd the god" whom the author would identify, on various grounds, with one of the princes of the Kidāra dynasty of the so-

called minor Kushans rather than with one of the Sasanian princes bearing that name. Then one of the Parthian legends contains the name Bagdat ; another in double: ***artmasah qunarnk-i mrv*** "Artamasah, the Kunarangh of Marv" and ***denk zn-i zatfrh*** (?) "Denagh wife of Z." (The lady's name is very common in the royal family, but what is her connection here?) After a very detailed and interesting discussion of the problems involved in the seal, this piece as well as the similar one with the same legend in London is placed in the last quarter of the third century. The whole article is a very solid contribution to the little studied branch of Sasanian seals.

André Godard gives us an interesting account of the work done at Persepolis in recent years. As said above this also bears personal relation to Herzfeld. It was he who planned and carried out wonderful excavations with enormous finds of historical tablets, for instance, as well as made proposals for the removal and preservation of the monuments some twenty years ago. It is found out that the principal enemy of the monuments is the burning rays of the sun, and a roof-like covering will protect them for a long time. Indeed, all honour to the institutions and the individuals,—in this case French and American—for their devoted work in the pure pursuit after the knowledge of the past of a far away people.

One more article, in direct connection with Herzfeld's *Zoroaster and His World*, also deserves mention ; it is the Posthumous Notes thereon by Murad Kamil containing Additions and Corrections. It would have been a great service, both to the memory of the master as well as to the students, if an index of the discussed passages,—if not of words and subject-matter also,—had been added.

To sum up, the volume has about three hundred octavo pages, thirty-seven plates, two maps, and some seventy illustrations in the text ; and the rest of the subjects cover the fields of Sanskrit-etymology, Ptolemy's geography of India, Kassite and Hittite art, Luristan bronzes, Graeco-Persian seals, and Islamic art, architecture, ornament, iconography etc. etc. Because of this vast and varied treasure the book must find its place in every public library.

## 3. GELDNER'S TRANSLATION OF THE ṚG VEDA.

Der Rig-Veda...übersetzt...mit...Kommentari

The Ṛg Veda is the oldest literary product of India or, to put it more exactly, it is the oldest heritage that the Aryan conquerors of India have left behind them. The work is in the form of religious hymns and secular songs, and is generally supposed to be compiled by their priest-poets in N-W. corner of the country, that is, at the time when they had not yet

moved farther southwards and eastwards. But since it is a common practice to base such hymns and songs on older models—which practice is even directly admitted by the poets themselves who may have sometimes just retouched the work of their predecessors, the Ṛg Veda may be said to contain still earlier matter—matter that may have reference to the former home of the Indo-Aryans. Whether or no and how far it is so, is a moot question. What is certain is that the book affords great help in the comparative study of Indo-European languages and religions in general and that of Indo-Iranian ones in particular.

It was some time after the acquaintance with the so-called classical Sanskrit that the Ṛg Veda came to the notice of the workers in the field. But its study was taken up with the greatest enthusiasm, first with the help of native commentaries and then in a new method based on linguistic and philological principles. Rudolf Roth was the founder of this new school. And Karl Geldner was one of Roth's most prominent pupils. He followed in the footsteps of the master and remained a life-long worker in the field. Of course, Geldner's name is intimately connected also with another and allied scriptures, the Avesta. Besides the latest and standard edition of this work he gave us translations and other studies concerning various pieces from it. Most of these being scattered in learned journals are not so commonly known. However his latest contribution to A. Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* 1, *Die Zoroastrische Religion*, giving classified selection from the Avesta, is easily accessible. It is also translated into English by the present writer for the K. R. Cama Or. Inst., published in its journal No. 24, 1933. Anyhow Geldner has a greater and more recognised name as Vedist. And that name will retain its splendour and value for years to come—thanks to the present publication of his complete translation of the Ṛg Veda, with running commentary and full cross-references to the entire Vedic Literature. Anything like justice cannot be done to this work in a short review ; but a few words may be added about its publication as well as the former works of the author on the subject.

The first fruits of Geldner's labours in the Vedic field appeared as early as 1875 when he brought out along with Adolf Kaegi *Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛg-Veda*. These translations are even now appreciated because of the excellent form in which they are clothed. Then came several volumes of *Vedische Studien* in collaboration with Richard Pischel. Later in 1907 appeared *Der Ṛg-Veda in Auswahl,* the first part containing the Glossary and the second the Commentary. The first volume of the present complete translation was published as early as 1923 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen. But the circumstances being unfavourable for issuing the next two Charles Lanmann on behalf of Harvard University (Cambridge Mass. U.S.A.) offered to undertake the task in 1924. The matter was soon agreed upon and the whole work was promptly printed off, so that the author had the happiness to see his labours realized before his death. But unfortunately it was not published and so the fellow-workers could not derive any benefit therefrom,

except the fortunate few who were supplied with advance copies. A little before the War the first volume was reprinted, and now the whole work has seen the light of day,—has been made accessible to all as Harvard Oriental Series Volume 33-35 in excellent get-up, about 1356 pages, costing $20.

This Series owes its origin and existence to the munificence of the late Henry Clarke Warren (1854-1899). Its aim is high and noble,- "to make it possible for the East and the West to know each other and so to respect and trust each other." And this high aim is reached by means of publishing works of deep scholarship. Moreover, there is no narrowness of mind as to the workers. These are not restricted to Harvard University nor even to America, but may belong to any country and any people. A glance at the list of the volumes shows that scholars from England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Norway and even far away India have the honour and benefit of contributing to the Series. It is also remarkable that Vedic studies occupy a conspicuous place therein. Thus it is in the fitness of things that Geldner's *magnum opum* is taken over by the Series, for which science will be grateful to all concerned.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که دادار او رمزد اندر آفرینش خویش کدام کس را آن دهشن (= بخشش و سعادت) داده است که اهریمن او را زیان نتواند کرد و از راه راست بیرون نتواند برد؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که خردمندتر مردم را اهریمن گزند رسانیدن و از راه راست گردانیدن نتواند.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که از مردمان گیتی چه کسانی را توانگر و چه کسانی را درویش باید دانست؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که این مردمان از توانگرانند:— اوّل کسیکه خردمند باشد، دوم کسیکه تندرست و بی‌بیم باشد، سوّم آن کسیکه بآن چه وی را رسد خورسند باشد، چهارم کسیکه بختش در هر کار یار باشد، پنجم کسیکه بچشم یزدان و وهان گرامی باشد، ششم کسیکه بر دین وه ما زدیسنان (= خدا شناسی) بی‌گمان و استوار باشد، هفتم کسیکه از خویش کاری توانگر باشد.

این مردمان گیتی را از درویشان باید دانست:— اوّل کسیکه او را خرد نباشد، دوم کسیکه او را تندرستی نیست، سوّم کسیکه در بیم و بدکرداری زندگی کند، چهارم کسیکه بآن چه وی را رسد خورسند نباشد، پنجم کسیکه بختش یار نباشد، ششم کسیکه بچشم یزدان و زبان نیکوان زشت باشد، هفتم کسیکه به پیری‌اش فرزند و پیوند نباشد.

(بقیّه در شمارهٔ آینده)

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که پادشاهان را هم‌صحبتی (= هم‌نشینی و مشورت) با دانایان و وهان (= نیکوان) سودمندتر باشد و گفته اند که هم‌نشینی با سخن‌چینان و نادانان زیان بخش باشد.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که کدام کسان را باید بنظر [نیکو] نگریست و نگاهداشت؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که کودک وزن و گوسفندان و آتش بهرام را محافظت کردن و وه (= نیکو) نگریستن و نگاهداشتن باید.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که از زندگانی کدام بدتر و از خرد کدام ناپسندتر [باشد]؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: زیستن آن بدتر که در بیم و بدکرداری باشد و خرد آن ناپسندتر که بمینو (= بهشت، سرای دیگر) ننگرد و گیتی آراید(۱).

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که از پادشاهان کدام بدتر؟ و از سرداران کدام بدتر؟ و از دوستان کدام بدتر؟ و از خویشاوندان کدام بدتر؟ و از زنان کدام بدتر؟ و از فرزندان کدام بدتر؟ و از شهرها کدام بدتر [باشد]؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که از پادشاهان آن بدتر که شهر را بی‌بیم و مردمان را بی‌اندوه (= غم و رنج) نتواند داشت. و از سرداران آن بدتر که بهروران و خدمت‌گذاران ناسپاسی کند و کردهٔ آنان را نابوده و ناکرده انگارد. و از دوستان آن بدتر که با تو یار نباشد. و از زنان آن بدتر که زندگی شوی (= شوهر و همسر) را برامشن (= آرامش دل و خوشی) نگذارد. و از فرزندان آن بدتر که نامبردار نباشد. و از شهرها آن بدتر که در آن بی‌بیم و شادی نتوان زیست.

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(۱) گیتی آراستن یعنی کامرانی این جهان حاصل کردن و در فکر خدا و خلق نبودن است.

منتخباتی که در اینجا آورده شده است بترتیب ثبت در متن کتاب نیست، بلکه از فصول مختلف کتاب بسلیقهٔ مترجم جملاتی چند انتخاب و در اینجا نموده میشوند. برای فهم عبارات و صحیح بودن آنها به پیروی از دستور زبان فارسی، گاهی کلماتی بجملات افزوده شده اند که اینگونه کلمات در قلاب نموده میشوند تا اهل تحقیق و بصیرت متوجه باشند که اینگونه کلمات در متن پهلوی نیامده اند، بلکه برای روشن شدن مطلب از طرف مترجم افزوده شده‌اند.
در این ترجمه منتهای کوشش شده که حتی المقدور زبان ترجمه با زبان اصلی متن شباهت داشته باشد و حتی الامکان کلماتی بکار برده شده اند که با کلمات پهلوی خویشی نزدیک داشته باشند. اما هر کجا که کلمهٔ نامانوس بنظر رسید مترجم آن را در پرانتز معنی نموده تا فهم عبارات آسان‌تر باشد.

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دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که کدام شادی از شادیها بدتر است؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد[1]: که خواسته (= مال و ثروت) از راه حرام اندوختن و با آن شاد بودن، آن شادی از ناخوشی و اندوه بدتر است.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که به بیم و بدکرداری زیستن بدتر (است) یا مرگ؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: که به بیم و بدکرداری زیستن از مرگ بدتر [است]، چه هرکس باید زندگی برامشنی (= خوشی و شادی) وخوشی گیتی گذراند وکسیکه برامشنی وخوشی گیتی نیست و به بیم و بدکرداری زندگی کند، آن زندگی از مرگ بدتر و مرگ از آن زندگی بهتر باشد.

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: که پادشاهان را چه چیز سودمندتر و چه چیز زیان بخش‌تر (باشد)؟

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(۱) پاسخ کردن بجای پاسخ دادن و پاسخ گفتن زیاد در ادبیات پهلوی استعمال شده است.

# چند اندرز از کتاب پهلوی "دانای مینوخرد"

ترجمهٔ آقای فرهاد سام آبادانی، ایم - اے، بمبئی

از ادبیات زبان پهلوی آنچه که امروز برای ما بیادگار مانده است، میتوان بدو دسته تقسیم نمود. یک دسته نوشته‌هائی است که ترجمه از متون موجود اوستائی است، دستهٔ دیگر نوشته‌هائی است که در خصوص آداب و رسوم و آئین مذهب زرتشت بحث مینماید. درمیان این آثار که امروز در دست و موجود است مقداری بصورت پند و اندرز و نصایح حکیمانه نوشته شده که از آن میان ''اندرز آدرباد ما را سپند،، و ''اندرز خسرو قبادان،، و ''اندرز بزرگ مهر حکیم،، و''اندرز بهزاد فرّخ فیروز،، و ''داروی خورسندی،، و ''اندرز پیشینکان،، وغیره از همه مهم‌تر و مشهورترند. کتاب ''مینوخرد،، نیز در ردیف همین آثار پند و اندرز قرار گرفته است[۱]. ترجمهٔ زیر نیز منتخباتی از چند فصل همان کتاب است.

این کتاب یکی از آثار خوب و گرانبهای زبان پهلویست که متضمن اندرزهای حکیمانهٔ فراوان است. کتاب مذکور مشتمل بر شصت و دو فصل و دوازده هزار کلمهٔ پهلویست[۲]. منظور از درج اینگونه پند و اندرز نمودن نمونهٔ کوچکی از ادبیات ایران باستان است. اساس این ترجمه بر روی چاپ ''دانای مینوخرد،، که از طرف مرحوم هیربد تهورس دینشاه انکلساریا و با مقدمهٔ دکتر جیوانجی جمشید جی مُدی انجام شده، قرار گرفته است[۳].

(۱) رجوع شود به Martin Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis*, 3rd edition, pp. 93–97.
و نیز بکتاب Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologic*, ii, 75–129.

(۲) رجوع کنید به E. W. West, *Essays on Pahlawi Literature*, pp. 10–15.
و نیز به E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, in vol. XXIV of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

(۳) E. T. D. Anklesaria, *Dánák-e-Mainyo-e-Khirad*, 1913.

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که آنچه از او برگیرند خالی نگردد فراوان دارد مثلاً در مجلّد اول و دوم آن دو داستان حاوی چنین جامی است که نقلش در این مقال سبب تطویل میگردد .

میلاد :

درشاهنامه نقطه‌ای که اسکندر از آن جا نامه به کید نوشت چنانکه دیدیم • سرزمین میلاد شمرده شده و حال آنکه مورخین جائی را که اسکندر فرستادگان آمبهی را پذیرفت ویهند یا اوند Ohind گفته‌اند در شهر پنجاب که طول و عرض جغرافیائی آن عبارت است از: ۳۴° ۲′ شمالی و ۷۲° ۲۷′ شرقی . پس از تحقیق معلوم شد که نام میلاد نیز تصادفاً در شاهنامه نیامده است : در جغرافیای هند دو شهر کوچک تا بحال موجود است بنام مَلُت Malot یکی در ماوراء رود جیلم Jhelum و از بحث ما بیرون است . اما نزدیک شهر جیلم نیز در ایالت پنجاب که در حوالی آن جنگ معروف اسکندر و پوروس (فور) صورت گرفته است شهری است بنام ملت (۳۲° ۴۲′ شمالی و ۷۲° ۵۰′ شرقی) که ممکن است همان ''میلاد،، شاهنامه باشد . اگر هم مَلُت در زمان اسکندر موجود بوده باشد تصور اینکه اسکندر از آنجا با فور که اردویش در حوالی شهر جیلم بود مکاتبتی کرده باشد آسان‌تر بود و معقول نیست که فاتح مقدونی بی‌آنکه از تاکسیلا گذشته باشد یکباره در مَلُت جنوب آن شهر پیدا شود و با کید (آمبهی) گفتگوئی کند چه بسا که مَلُت بصورت میلاد اصلاً در مدارک شاهنامه خلط و ناحیه‌ای که بداستان بعد یعنی اسکندر و فور هندی مربوط بوده است در وقایع کید هندی ضبط شده باشد .

اما تحقیق در داستان فور هندی در شاهنامه نیز اگرچه باز بر امانت فردوسی در نقل حقایق تاریخی دلالت خواهد داشت ولی خود موضوعی دیگر است که ذکرش در این مقاله نمیگنجد و وقت دیگر میخواهد .

Roxana[1] بود چنان محبوب اسکندر بود که تواریخ قدیم از نقل نامش ناگزیر بوده اند پلوتا رخ مینویسد ''ازدواج اسکندر با روکسنا بر اثر عشق بوده است. روزی اسکندر او را در مهمانی دید و مفتون زیبائیش شد ...... بومیان (پس از این ازدواج) بر اسکندر بیشتر اعتماد کردند ...... زیرا دیدند که وی بزنی هرچند که دیوانه‌وار دوستش داشته باشد، جز بائین ازدواج تقرب نمی‌جوید.،، فردوسی نیز در مورد دختر کید صراحت دارد باینکه اسکندر وی را بآئین بزنی گرفت:

نشستند و او را بائین بخواست برسم مسیحا و پیوند راست

البته خوانندگان گرامی سابقه دارند که غالباً در تواریخ ایران بعد از اسلام تصور شده است که رومیان و یونانیان همیشه مسیحی بوده اند! مقصد اینست که از این قرینه میتوان حکم کرد که ممکن است دختر امیر باختر سهوا در مدارک مورد استفاده فردوسی دختر کید پادشاه تاکسیلا معرفی شده باشد.

۳ — جام جادو:

سحر و جادو همیشه مورد توجه انسان بوده است و در قصص قدیمه تقریباً همه جا از آن نشان میتوان یافت. اما درباره جامی چنین که پادشاه هند بنا بشاهنامه باسکندر تقدیم کرد در ادبیات قدیم و جدید هند فراوان مذکور آمده است. مثلاً کتاب مفصلی است بزبان سانسکریت در نه مجلّد بنام کتها سریت سگره Katha Sarit Sagara یا دریای افسانه تالیف سوما دوا Soma Deva این کتاب داستانی است مسلسل بصورت هزار و یکشب و نظیر این جامی

(۱) با قرب احتمال روکسنا در شاهنامه بقالب "روشنک" درآمده است یعنی دختر دارا که با اسکندر ازدواج کرد چون داستان اسکندر در باختر در شاهنامه مفقود است و نیز بقول فردوسی بلا فاصله وی پس از ازدواج با روشنک بهندوستان حمله کرد و داستان کید شروع شده است این ظنّ قوی‌تر میشود و شباهت لفظی "روکسنا" و روشنک نیز قرینه‌ای دیگر بر این مدعا تواند بود.

با این ترتیب باید ظن قوی برد بلکه حتم کرد که اسکندر مانند هر فاتح دیگری چون به تاکسیلا رسید آنچه را که مایه الافتخار آن شهر آباد بود با خود برد و همراه کرد. و گذشته از حکیمان که محترمترین افراد تاکسیلا بودند طبیبان یا لا اقل طبیبی را نیز ملازم خویش ساخت چنانکه شاهنامه مینویسد. از این استدلال هم که صرفنظر کنیم حکمت طبیب اسکندر در شاهنامه درست با آنچه مثلاً استرابو درباره اطباء تاکسیلا نوشته است مطابقت دارد.

استرابو مینویسد. ''ایشان (پزشکان تاکسیلا) بیشتر با تنظیم غذا مرضا را مداوا میکنند تا با استعمال دوا.،، و در شاهنامه آمده است که اسکندر که از علت مرض می‌پرسد طبیب جوابش میدهد که مریض کسی میشود که ''چو بر خوان نشیند خورش نشمرد،، که ''نباشد فراوان خورش تندرست.،،

و نیز چون پزشک در وجود اسکندر کاهشی می‌بیند وی را از ''خفت و خیز،، با زنان پرهیز میدهد اما چون اسکندر را راغب می‌بیند بزحمت زیاد داروئی میسازد که وی را در عین معاشرت با زنان سالم نگاهدارد اما وقتی پس از ساختن دوا اسکندر را دید که اندرز او را اجابت و از زنان پرهیز کرده است فوراً ظرف دارو را انداخت و شکست و ''بدو گفت شاه آن چرا ریختی چو با رنج دارو بیامیختی،، جوابش البته پیداست و همان است که استرابو نوشته است که اطباء آن دیار تا جائی که بالطبیعه و یا با خوراک معالجت می‌توانستند تجویز دارو نمیکردند.

۳ — دختر کید:

ازدواج اسکندر با دختر آمبهی (کید) در تاکسیلا از نظر تاریخی محقق نیست چیزی که یقین است این است که اسکندر کمی قبل از حرکت بسوی هند با دختر امیر باختر ازدواج کرد و این دختر که نامش روکسنا

چینی هون تسیانگ Hiuen Tsiang در مورد مسافرت خود بهندوستان از دو حکیم هندی داستانی مینویسد که شباهت تام دارد با مکالمه عجیب اسکندر با فیلسوف که قبلاً مذکور شد تسیانگ از حکیمی نقل میکند بنام نگرجونا Nagarjuna که خانقاهی دور افتاده داشت و حکیم دیگری از سیلان بنام تیپو (Ti-po) یا دوا (Deva) بر او وارد میشود. بیرون در خادم را میگوید تا از حکیم اجازه ملاقات بگیرد. نگرجونا در جواب جامی پر آب کرده توسط خادم به دوا میفرستد. دوا پس از دیدن جام آب بی‌آنکه سخنی گوید سوزنی در آب افکنده بازش میدهد. نگرجونا از دیدن سوزن خادم را تاکید میکند که این مرد حکیم و فهیم را فوراً بحضر او بیاورد تسیانگ تعبیری که از این مکالمه بی‌زبان میکند نیز شبیه به تعبیری است که فردوسی در در شاهنامه آورده که نقلش ما را از مقصد دور میسازد - امّا یکبار دیگر ملاحظه میکنیم که آنچه درشاهنامه نقل شده است، اگر خوب تحقیق کنیم آنرا در تواریخ و اخبار دیگر نیز می‌یابم و از امانت فردوسی در نقل روایات قدیمه مطمئن‌تر و واثق‌تر میگردیم.

۲ — پزشک:

با آنکه تاریخ در اینکه از تاکسیلا پزشکی همراه اسکندر رفته باشد مسکوت است اما بنظر نگارنده بدلائلی که خواهیم گفت شدیداً امکان این میرود که قول شاهنامه در این باره درست و مدارکی که فردوسی از آن اقتباس کرده آست صحیح باشد. ونسان اسمیت Vincent Smith در ‹‹تاریخ قدیم هند›› می‌نویسد که تاکسیلا بنام مرکز دانش هندوها معروف بود و محققین از هر طبقه گروه گروه برای تحصیل مخصوصاً تحصیل علم طب در آن مجتمع بوده اند. و استرابو Strabo نیز از قول ماگستنس (در جائی که در یادداشتهای خود از ملاقات خویش با حکیمان هندی نویسد) نقل میکند. ‹‹طبیبان بعد از حکیمان (در تاکسیلا) مهمترین طبقه‌اند که عمر شان در مطالعه در طبیعت انسان میگذرد.››

اسکندر این برهمنان را بدو طبقه تقسیم میکند یکی آنان که در زندگی اجتماعی و سیاست شرکت میکرده اند و در دربار بعنوان مشاور میزیسته اند دیگر آنهائی که عمر خود را غالباً در خلوت بکشف اسرار طبیعت میگذرانده اند. این دو دسته در شاهنامه متمایزاً در داستان اسکندر نمودار است و ما دیدیم وقتی کید از خوابی که ده شب پیاپی دید متوحش شد اول به دانایان دربار رجوع کرد و ''همه خوابها پیش ایشان بگفت.،، و وقتی ''کس آنرا گزارش ندانست کرد،، باشاره هم ایشان نزد مهران که حکیمی وارسته و در خلوت نشسته بود شتافت و مهران از جمله دسته دوم این فلاسفه بود که در شهر ''خورد و آرام،، نداشتند و جز با ''دد و دام،، نمی‌نشستند. و فقط از ''تخم گیاهان کوهی،، میخوردند و از ''آرام و مردم بیکسو،، بودند و اینهمه را گفتار سترابو Strabo مورخ معروف یونان بعین مجسم میکند که درباره ایشان نوشته است: ''دسته‌ای از برهمنان فقط در جنگل‌ها ماوی دارند و از برگهای درختان و میوهای جنگلی میخورند و خویشتن را با الیاف درختان می‌پوشند. شاهان را اندرز میدهند و لیکن بواسطه رسولان - یعنی خود بنزد شاه نمیروند.،، چنانکه کید (آمبهی) مجبور شد که خود بخدمت این پیر شتابد.

باری از مقصد دور نشویم تاریخ بما میگوید که از تاکسیلا یعنی سرزمین امبهی (کید) ''فیلسوفی،، بنام کالانوس Kalanos همراه اسکندر شد و از سرگذشت این فیلسوف هم مورخین با خبرند که بعد از چندی که با لشگر اسکندر از هند بیرون رفت بیمار شد و خود دستور داد آتشی بیفروزند و در مقابل اسکندر و همراهانش با آرامش تمام خود را بآتش افکند و بمرد.

اما پلوتارک واضحتر درباره این فیلسوف می‌نویسد که کالانوس را تاکسیلس (کید - آمبهی) تشویق و وادار کرد تا بخدمت اسکندر درآید و همانست که در شاهنامه در زمره هدایای کید باسکندر مذکور آمده است. نکته‌ای که ذکرش در این مورد جالب مینماید اینست که جهانگرد معروف

ایشان مقدم اسکندر را گرامی داشت و هدایائی بسیار گرانبها بنزد او فرستاد و عنایت اسکندر را بخود جلب کرد و باتفاق او بر رقیب قدیم خویش پوروس Puros پادشاه دلاور همسایه حمله برد و پوروس همان ''فور،، شاهنامه است.

شاهنامه، صرفنظر از اسامی خاصّ و رنگ و بوی شاعرانه، در اساس، با تاریخ موافق است که اسکندر با اولین امیری که در خاک هندوستان مواجه شد از او باج فراوان گرفت و از در آشتی درآمد و باتفاق او، حمله خود را به پوروس امیر مجاور تهیه دید. ازان روی در وهله اولی کسی را شکّی نمی‌ماند که کید در شاهنامه کسی جز آمبهی تاریخ نیست.

اما نام کید بکرات در ادبیات فارسی بعنوان حکیم هندی آمده است حتی در سند پهلوی ''کارنامک اردشیر پاپکان،، بنام ''کیت،، بر میخوریم که حکیمی هندی بود که اردشیر باو مشاورت کرد. در تواریخ اسلامی این نام به کیهان و کند تغییر شکل داده و همه جا امیری خردمند قلم رفته است که با تدبیر دفع شر اسکندر را نمود. و از قرار مشهود همان آمبهی یا امفیس پادشاه تاکسیلاست. و این مطلب را نفس هدایائی که بقول شاهنامه از کید با سکندر رسیده است تائید میکند:

درمیان هدایای کید بقول شاهنامه چهار تحفه ممتاز بود - یکی فیلسوفی دانا دوم پزشکی توانا سوم دختری زیبا چهارم جامی سحرآمیز که آنچه از او بر میگرفتند آبش نقصان نمی‌یافت.

۱ — فیلسوف:

طبیعی است که یونانیان در هندوستان بر طبقه برهمنان و مرتاضین یعنی حکمائی که ضمناً ارباب ریاضت هم بوده اند گذشته اند و باغلب احتمال اول بار ایشانرا در تاکسیلا که مرکز علم و صنعت و حکمت آن قسمت هندوستان در آن ایام بوده ملاقات کرده اند. نئارخوس Nearchus مورخ یونانی که آثارش مبتنی است بر یادداشتهای مگاستنس Megasthenes از همراهان

تو گفتی که از فیلسوفان شهر — مرا خود ز دانش فزونست بهر
بپاسخ چنین گفتم ای پادشاه — که دانا دل و مردم پارسا
چو سوزن پی استخوان بسپرد — اگر سنگ پیش آیدش بگذرد
ترا گفتم این چرب گفتار من — روان و دل و رای هشیار من
سخن دارد از موی باریکتر — ترا دل ز آهن نه تاریکتر
تو گفتی برین سالیان برگذشت — ز خونها دلم پر ز زنگار گشت
ترا گفتم از دانش آسمان — زدایم دلت گر شود بدگمان
از آن پس که چوب آب گردد برنگ — کجا کرد یارد برو کار زنگ

با این تدبیر کید هندی از زحمت اسکندر برست و جهانگیر مقدونی وی را بر حکومت قدیم قائم بداشت و بعد به فور هندی پادشاه سرزمین مجاور نامه نگاشت که ماجرائی دیگر دارد و در آینده بان خواهیم پرداخت .

این داستان افسانه‌نما را چون با تاریخ مقایسه کنیم خواهیم دید که حقایق تاریخی فراوان در بر دارد و متوجه خواهیم شد که سایر مقالات شاهنامه نیز بهمین وجه اگر هم‌افسانه باشد ''سایه تاریخ،، است .

میدانیم که اسکندر در سال ۳۲۷ قبل از میلاد پس از فتح باختر بشمال غربی خاک هند لشکر کشید و پس از آنکه از رود سند در ناحیه ویهند یا اُهند Ohind گذر کرد فرستادگانی را از امیر تاکسیلا Taxila شهر معروف ماوراء سند بنزد خود پذیرفت این شهر از قدیم معروف و نام اصلی آن در زبان سانسکریت تکشسیلا Takshasila بوده و جمعیت و آبادانی فراوان داشته است و از قرن پنجم قبل از میلاد جزوساتراپ نشین های شاهنشاهی هخامنشیان بشمار میرفته است . در زمان اسکندر در نتیجه ضعف حکومت هخامنشیان این ناحیه ظاهراً مستقل بود و پادشاه آن آمبهی Ambhi نام داشت که مورخین یونانی او را امفیس Omphis ضبط کرده اند . و غالباً از او بنام تاکسیلس Taxiles یاد میکنند که منسوب به تاکسیلاست . این آمبهی با ملوک نواحی همجوار غالباً در کشمکش بود و برای دفع شر

و اسکندر پس از چندی از ایران زمین لشگر بحدود هند آورد و چون بشهرستانی بنام میلاد رسید نامه‌ای بکید فرستاد و او را باطاعت دعوت کرد کید جواب نامه جهانجوی مغرور را بنرمی داد و سر تسلیم نهاد و از آن چهار طرفه‌ای که در بساط داشت با خبرش ساخت اسکندر نه مرد دانا را برای آزمودن تحف و هدایا نزد کید فرستاد و چون از ارزش آن چهار چیز مطمئن شد کید را از خشنودی خویش آگاه کرد و شرایط آشتی را پذیرفت. چون اسکندر را این هدایا مقبول افتاد کید در گنج بگشاد و بتقدیم چهار تحفه مذکور قناعت نکرد و چندین شتروار درهم و دینار و تاج و یاره و گوشوار همراه رسولان کرد و جان و خود و ملک خود را بخرید.

اسکندر پس از آنکه دختر کید را که "چراغ جهانش" دید برسم و آئین بزنی گرفت بآزمودن فیلسوف و پزشک و جام پرداخت. از این میان بنقل کیفیت امتحان فیلسوف قناعت میکنیم که ما را بکار خواهد آمد.

چون فیلسوف بحضرت اسکندر رسید - جهانجوی جامی از روغن بر فیلسوف فرستاد تا بر اندامها بمالد و خستگی و کوفتگی از تن بگیرد و از این کار اسکندر در دل مقصودی دیگر داشت و فیلسوف آن مقصد را بفراست دریافت و بجای استعمال روغن هزار سوزن در جام افکند و بازش فرستاد. اسکندر آهنگران را فرمود تا آن سوزنها را بگداختند و از آن مهره‌ای ساختند و دوباره پیش فیلسوف بردند. مرد خردمند آن مهره تیره رنگ را بسود و آئینه‌ای از آن بساخت و بفرستاده شاه داد. آئینه چون با سکندر رسید آنرا در جائی نمناک گذاشت تا زنگار گیرد و جلایش بیفسرد. این بار فیلسوف با داروئی که میدانست زنگ آئینه را چنان زدود که رطوبت دیگر در آن کارگر نمی‌افتاد. این بار اسکندر فیلسوف را بخواند و ذکر این معمّا را که فیلسوف با زبان بیزبانی حل کرده بود بمیان آورد:

سخن گفتش از جام روغن نخست همی دانش نامور باز جست
چنین گفت با شاه مرد خرد که روغن بر اندامها نگذرد

در شاهنامه چنین میخوانیم که اسکندر پس از فتح ایران و ساختن کار دارا روی بمشرق آورد و بهندوستان رسید و

یکی شاه بد هند را «کید»، نام    خردمند و بینا دل و شادکام
دل بخردان داشت و مغز ردان    نشست کیان فرّه موبدان

و این کید ده شب پیاپی خوابی دید هولناک که حکیمان دربارش از تعبیر آن عاجز ماندند و ناچار شاه را حوالت بحکیمی داناتر از خود دادند و گفتند:

یکی نامدار است مهران بنام    بگیتی ز دانش رسیده بکام
بشهر اندرش خورد و آرام نیست    نشستنش جز با دد و دام نیست
ز تخم گیاهان کوهی خورد    چو ما را بمردم همی نشمرد

و کید دردم پای در رکاب آورد و بنزد این دانشمند عزلت پیشه رفت و خواب خویش عرضه داشت. نقل این خواب و تعبیر آن بهر تقدیر ارتباطی بسلسله داستان اسکندر ندارد جز آنکه در آغاز کار مهران حکیم پیشگوئی کرد که:

سکندر بیارد سپاهی گران    ز روم و ز ایران گزیده سران

و کید را از جنگ با اسکندر تحذیر کرد و از بهر چاره‌جوئی گفت که در خزانه تو چهار تحفه طرفه است:

یکی چون بهشت‌برین دخترت    کزو تابد اندر جهان افسرت
دگر فیلسوفی که داری نهان    بگوید همه با تو راز نهان
سه دیگر پزشکی که هست ارجمند    بدانندگی نام کرده بلند
چهارم قدح کاندرو ریزی آب    نه ز آتش شود گرم و نه آفتاب
ز خوردن نگیرد کمی آب اوی    بدین چیزها راست کن تاب اوی

در آخرکار نیز این خوابگزار کید را از روی تاکید گفت

چو آید برو ده تو این چار چیز    برآنم که چیزی نخواهند نیز
چو خشنود داری و را بگذرد    که دانش پژوهست و دارد خرد

کید مصلحت حکیم را بدیده قبول دید و سرو چشمش را ببوسید و بازگشت.

# شاهنامه و حمله اسکندر بهندوستان

نگارش هوشمند فتح اعظم

معلم زبان و ادبیات فارسی در دانشگاه ویشوا بهاراتی ـ شانتی نیکتان

شاهنامه را امروز بدرستی حماسه میدانیم اما گذشتگان ما آنرا تاریخی منظوم میشمردند. و فن تاریخ که امروز تدریجاً بعلمی بدل میگردد درگذشته چیزی جز این نبود که یک سلسله وقایع منقول را غالباً از راه مفاخرت در دفتری تدوین کنند بی‌آنکه توجهی بحقایق و واقعیات داشته باشند تواریخ صحیح و دقیقی مانند تاریخ بیهقی بسیار نادر است و صحت و دقت امثال آن کتاب نیز بیشتر بستگی باین داشته است که مصنف فقط وقایع دوره خویش را ثبت میکرده و مأثر معاصرین را تدوین مینموده است. هرکس که بتاریخ گذشتگان پرداخته کتابش چون شاهنامه با افسانه ممزوج است آثار طبری ـ حمزه اصفهانی و مسعودی و دیگران از مورخین عرب و ایران و روم و یونان همه گواه این گفتار است. مقصود اینست که آنچه در شاهنامه آمده است همان است که در تواریخ و مآخذ قدیمه بوده است و فردوسی هرگز واقعه‌ای را از خود اختراع نکرده بلکه آنچه در اسناد گذشته یافته است بتار و پود سخن بافته است و در سبیل نقل آن آثار هم امینی وفادار بوده است منتهی هرچه این داستانها مربوط بزمان بعیدتر، دخل و تصرف و حشو و زوائد آن بیشتر. چنانکه در بادی نظر کسی را بخاطر نمیگذرد که در پس این پرده افسانه حقیقتی تاریخی نیز موجود است که باید تحقیق کرد و دریافت.

داستان اسکندر نیز در شاهنامه از این قبیل است که مثلاً از آن میان آنچه مربوط بهندوستان است مورد گفتگوی ماست.

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HIS EXCELLENCY DR ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT
IRANIAN AMBASSADOR AND PLENIPOTENTIARY
IN INDIA

# HIS EXCELLENCY DR. ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT THE IRANIAN AMBASSADOR AND PLENIPOTENTIARY IN INDIA

*By M. Ishaque, B.Sc., M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)*

AN eminent politician and educationist, Ali Asghar Hekmat son of Mirza Ahmad Ali Khan Hashmatu'l-Mamalik was born in Shiraz on April 2, 1893. After finishing his education in local schools, he proceeded to Teheran where he studied philosophy, theology and other allied subjects under reputed tutors. He also joined the American College where he learnt English and French. In 1932, he obtained the Licentiate in Literature from the Paris University (Sorbounc). In 1918, he joined the Ministry of Education and within a short time he was made the officer-in-charge of several departments. He was transferred to the Judicial Department in 1927 and in connection with the reorganisation of that department he visited Europe in 1930. During his five years' stay in Europe, he improved his knowledge of English and French languages and literatures and philosophies. In 1934, he became the Minister of Education, in which capacity he brought about an all-round improvement of the system of education. It was during his ministry that the Millenary of the great poet Firdausi was celebrated at Tehran and Mashhad in 1934, and the *Farhangistán* (or the Iranian Academy), was established.

In 1935 he led a Cultural Mission to the Congress and Exhibition of the Iranian Arts, held in Leningrad. Between the years 1938 and 1944 he was in the Iranian Cabinet, holding successively the portfolios of the Interior, Public Health and Justice. In 1944 he visited India as leader of the Iranian Cultural Mission. Since 1939 he was also attached to the Teheran University as Professor of History of Persian Literature and History of Religions and Faiths. As leader of the Iranian delegation he participated in the London UNESCO Conference held in November 1945. Later in 1948 he became the Minister of Foreign Affairs which portfolio he held till 1950. He headed the Iranian delegation to the 5th Session of the UNESCO General Conference held at Florence (Italy) in 1950. In 1953, he was conferred the degree of D.Litt. (*honoris causa*) by the University of the Panjab. He is now in New Delhi as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Iran.

Despite his political and other activities, he has always evinced a keen interest in literary and cultural societies. He is President of the UNESCO National Commission in Iran, the Irano-American Benevolent Society, Honorary President of the Iran League of Bombay and Vice-President of the Red *'Lion and Sun'* Society of Teheran. He is a Member

of the French Poets Society of Paris, the Iranian Academy, Russo-Iranian Cultural Relations, Fuad I Academy of Egypt and the Iraq Academy.

In appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him for the advancement of learning and culture, he has been the recipient of the following medals and orders:—

1st Grade Scientific Medal from the Ministry of Education, Government of Iran.

Order of the "Legion d'Honneur", *Commandeur* Grade from the French Government.

1st Grade "Homayoun" Order from the Government of Iran.
1st Grade "Nile" Order from the Egyptian Government.
1st Grade "Vessam Rafedin" Order from the Iraqi Government.
1st Grade "Al-Kowkab-ul-Ordoni" from the Transjordan Government.
1st Grade "Sardar Ala" Order from the Government of Afghanistan.

Dr. Hekmat is also a reputed author and poet. The following are his important publications:—

*Pārsiy-i Naghz.*—A Collection of Choice Excerpts from Iranian Masters with biographical and historical notes, including explanations of the etymology and derivations of words and terms (published in Teheran, 1951)

*Sa'dī to Jāmī.*—A Persian translation of Edward G. Browne's "A Literary History of Persia", Vol. III (published in Teheran, 1942).

*Jāmī.*—His biography and works published in Teheran, 1942.

*Five Tales.*—Translation of five dramas of Shakespeare.

*"Nivā'ī".*—A treatise on "Amīr 'Ali-Shīr Nivā'ī".

An annotated critical edition of the *"Kashfu'l-Asrār"*, a Persian Commentary of the Qur'ān written in the 11th century A.H.

A Paper on Fitzgerald and Jāmī's Salāmān and Abṣāl (in English).

A critical edition of the *"Majālisu'n-Nafā'is"* with Introduction and notes.

A study on Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni of Kashmir (in French).

"Romeo and Juliet" and "Laylà and Majnūn"—a comparative study of Shakespeare and Niẓāmī (published in Teheran, 1940).

Two specimens of his poems have been cited in my work *"Sukhanvarān-i-Irān"*, Vol. II. Some of his poems, generally didactic *maṣnavīs*, have been included in the Selections prescribed for schools and colleges. Before I conclude this article I feel tempted to quote his following verse taken from his poem *"Pādāsh-i Jahālat"* (The Vengeance of Ignorance):

Garat dānish na-bāshad tan chi sūdat?
Ki bā ḥayvān zi dānish farq būdat.

Translation

If learning be not thy lot, of what good would thy body be to thee?
'Tis knowledge that distinguishes thee from beasts.

Dr. Hekmat on the eve of his departure from Iran as Ambassador-designate to India, was given a farewell Dinner Party by H. E. Dr. Tarachand, the Indian Ambassador in Teheran on the 13th December, 1953. Among the high officials who attended the function was H. E. Aqa. Abdollah Entezam, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Premier Zahedi's Cabinet. The speeches made on the occasion by H. E. Dr. Tarachand, H. E. Dr. Hekmat and H. E. Mr. Abdollah Entezam, are given below:—

(1) *Speech of the Ambassador of India.*

"It is indeed a matter of great pleasure to me that His Excellency Mr. Hekmat has been appointed as Ambassador of Iran in India. I need not say much about the suitability of the choice. Mr. Hekmat's fame as an eminent scholar and man of letters has already crossed the frontiers of Iran. He is not only a distinguished and erudite *litterateur,* but also a prominent politician and an experienced diplomat. It is, therefore, most befitting that a man of his eminence should be Iranian Envoy in India. I have no doubt that Mr. Hekmat's presence in India will contribute substantially towards cementing Indo-Iranian relations which have happily existed during the ages. It is well known that Iran and India, these two ancient countries, have been the torch-bearers of culture and civilisation. Indeed, there was a time when there existed no frontier, as such, between these two lands of hoary civilizations. Iran's contribution to world's culture, art and literature has been great; India has been very profoundly influenced by Iran. So also has Iran benefited from the philosophy and culture of India. In fact, there are no two countries in the world which have mutually influenced each other so deeply as Iran and India. I am one of those who believe that the approach to world harmony and international understanding ought to be made not through the way of politics alone, but through the channels of culture also. In this age of machine, military force, and atom bombs, the world cannot attain real peace and tranquility unless it gives greater attention to the power of the spirit. In this world of storm and stress, and political tension, all avenues leading to mutual understanding should be explored and endeavour should be made to establish accord through cultural relations. As an humble representative of my country, I assure you that India stands for the development of real goodwill and amity between all countries of the world. We are determined to remain on friendly terms with all nations, and pursue our ideal of peace. I believe it is also true of Iran. I have been here for the last two years, and I can unhesitatingly say that Iran stands for international accord. We achieved

our freedom through non-violent means, and, therefore, stand convinced that it is only through this method and technique that the world can achieve real and lasting happiness, progress and prosperity. We in the East although weak and backward have our own contribution to make to the world civilisation. Europe and America are strong and powerful, possessed of untold wealth and tremendous armaments. They have made great advances in science and technology and provided means of adding to the welfare of man.

"But beyond these there are values of which Asia has been the torch bearer. India and Iran have specially stressed them and they are as important today as they were in the past and the world stands in need of them—values which emphasise the wholeness of man and call attention to his destiny. It may be that as bearers of these traditions embodying these values we may contribute something towards the establishment of peace and happiness in the world. I have no doubt in my mind that Mr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, during his tenure of office in India, as a representative of this ancient country, will engage himself mostly to work for the cause of world peace, and promotion of fraternal feelings between Iran and India. May our friendship grow from more to more and may we walk shoulder to shoulder, for the realisation of peace, harmony and goodwill."

(2) *Speech of H.E. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Ambassador-designate of Iran to India.*

"I can hardly add anything to the learned and thoughtful talk of His Excellency the Ambassador of India. He has rightly suggested that there can be no peace for mankind unless it turns its back on military armament and shuns equipping itself with dangerous weapons. Being a sincere and honest man, and having a deep-seated faith in soul force, Dr. Tara Chand has rendered yeoman's service for promotion of better understanding and accord between Iran and India. I have had the pleasure of knowing him even before he was appointed as his country's representative to Iran. I have been struck by his polished manners and high intellectual attainments. I need hardly mention that it will be my chief job to interpret Iran correctly to India and to promote greater friendship between these two countries. It will be my earnest endeavour to see that the friendship existing from time immemorial, between Iran and India not only continues unhampered, but also grows closer."

(3) *Speech of H.E. Mr. Abdollah Entezam, Iranian Foreign Minister.*

"The learned speech of His Excellency Dr. Tara Chand has impressed me very deeply. He has struck a sympathetic chord in my heart. I have always believed that beyond science and technique, beyond power and pelf, there is the world of mind and spirit, which we in the modern age tend to belittle and ignore, but on whose cultivation depends the real happiness of man. Though I am myself a technical man, I subscribe entirely to the views expressed by Dr. Tara Chand that the salvation of this world lies in

real spiritual understanding and cultural accord between the nations of the world. Indeed, in this atmosphere of international tension, doubt and distrust, mankind has no other refuge or alternative, but to adopt means which will lead to proper understanding, real goodwill and abiding harmony in this world. It is for this reason that Iran desires to befriend all the peoples of the world and entertains no hostility against any. Mutual aid for the advancement of human welfare, and mutual respect for the independence and dignity of the nations is the basic principle of our policy. India's intimate association with Iran is well known to all students of world history. We have always been sincere friends and collaborators throughout the long stretch of our common history and we hope we shall continue to co-operate in future. Iran and India can contribute a great deal towards the development of world goodwill and amity, and I have no doubt that these two countries will not shirk their duty in playing their rightful roles in the world of today and tomorrow. I wish Mr. Hekmat God-speed in his very important assignment.'

I, on behalf of the Iran Society and the Editorial Board of the "*Indo-Iranica,*" have the privilege of according hearty congratulations to His Excellency Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat on his appointment as Ambassador and Plenipotentiary in India. I cordially welcome him to my country:

گر دهد دستم کشم در دیده همچون توتیا

خاک راهی کان مشرف گردد از اقدام دوست

Should chance favour me, I'd put, as Collyrium into my eyes,
The dust of the path graced by the footsteps of the friend.

# IBN BAṬṬŪṬA

## ( His Life and Work )

DR. MAHDI HUSAIN, M.A., Ph.D. (London), D.LIT. (Paris)

I

IBN Baṭṭūṭa[1] was his family name, his personal name being Muhammad and his patronymic Abu 'Abdullāh; his father's name was 'Abdullāh Ibn Muḥammad. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was also called Shams-ud-din and al-maghribī and sometimes he was addressed as Maulānā Badr-ud-diñ. He was born at Tangier on 24th February, 1304/20th Jumada II,703 and is said to have died in Fez at the age of seventy-four. He belonged to a family which had settled at Lawata[2] and subsequently at Tangier for some generations and had been identified with the administration of the judiciary (*qaẓā*) and the hospice (*mashīkhat*). In reply to a query at the court of Dehli he is reported to have said, ' . . . . . the ministry (*wizārat*) and secretaryship (*kitābat*) are not my occupation ; but as for the office of judge and administration of hospice it is my calling as well as that of my ancestors.' Such a family which was highly religious and virtuous and noted for its scholastic and theological traditions was expected to produce a scholar and theologian like Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was also an explorer, traveller and adventurer desirous of discovering new places and routes and performing the hajj frequently and visiting as well as studying the sacred sites of Islam and anxious to meet the kings, queens, theologians and saints of the world. His *Reḥla*

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[1] Although the manuscripts of the *Reḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa which I have studied give Baṭūṭa and although the prima facie Baṭuṭa has been heretofore commonly used I have used the term Baṭṭūṭa. I understand that the natives of different parts of North Africa differ in their pronunciation and orthography of this term. Some pronounce and spell it as 'Būṭūṭa' contending that 'būṭūṭa' was originally 'bū-ṭūṭa' ( بو-طوطه ), that 'ṭuṭa' signifying a tassel, 'būṭūṭa' meant a tasselled man and that Ibn Būṭūṭa connoted the son of a tasselled man. Others pronounce and spell it as 'Baṭūṭa' contending that Baṭūṭa—literally an egg-shaped bottle—being a term for a bad woman Ibn Baṭṭūṭa connoted the son of a woman with an ellipsoidal body. I have therefore preferred reading Baṭṭūṭa . The want of *tashdīd* over ط in the manuscripts should create no difficulty in my opinion for such *tashdīd* has also been conveniently omitted in the manuscripts from another equally important name, i.e. Juzayy or Ibn Juzayy, the famous editor of the said *Reḥla*. Both these points I have discussed in my book—*The Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G.O.S. pp. xvi & 290). As regards the etymology of Baṭṭūṭa I am of opinion that baṭṭa ( بطّة ) meaning a duck-like flask, temper and slitting an ulcer or probably baṭṭaṭ ( بطّاط ) meaning a dealer in birds is the root of Baṭṭūṭa.

[2] The name of a place in Andalus

which embodies an account of all these describes among other things—geographical, historical, botanical, sociological, topographical, political, hierographical, agricultural, and architectural—the great monuments of Islamic civilization, its men and women as well as their lives or modes of living, public and private, and their manners, ideas and beliefs. His travels ranging over a quarter of a century may be divided into five groups:

(*a*) 1325-1333

On 14th June, 1325/2nd Rajab, 725 when he was over twenty-one years of age he took leave of his parents and started from Tangier for Mecca and reached Alexandria on 5th April, 1326. There he met two saints—Burhān-ud-din al-a'raj[1] and Shaikh Abū 'Abdullāh Al-Murshidi[2] whose predictions about his world travels are highly interesting. From Alexandria he proceeded towards the Hedjaz and visiting on the way Cairo, Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch he reached Damuscus on 9th August, 1326/9th Ramazan, 726. Then he resumed his journey and went to Medina and Mecca where he performed the hajj in the course of which he met a number of saints. On 17th November 1326/20th Dhilḥijja, 726 he left Mecca and came to the country of Iraq where he visited the sacred tombs of Najaf and Karbala. Then he made a short journey to Iran to come back to Iraq and visited Baghdād. From Baghdād he set out again for Mecca but fell ill on the way. But he continued his journey and on reaching Mecca he decided to stay. Accordingly he stayed three years learning Islamic philosophy at the feet of the learned saints of Mecca. Then he started for east Africa whence he came back to Mecca to perform another hajj. After this he proceeded eastward in the direction of India but stopped at Jedda for want of a ship. He turned northward, and

[1] & [2] His travels to India and China had been foretold by Shaikh Burhañ-ud-diñ al-a'raj of Alexandria. 'You like travelling and journeying through the countries', said he to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. 'Yes, I do' was the reply. 'And up till then', says he, 'never had I thought of going to distant countries like India and China'. 'Surely, God willing' continued Shaikh Burhañ-ud-dīn al-a'raj, 'you will meet my brother Farīd-ud-dīn in Hind, my brother Rukn-ud-dīn Zakarīyā in Sind and my brother Burhān-ud-dīn in China. When you meet them convey to them my greetings.' I was amazed at his words, which inspired me with the idea of visiting these countries and I continued travelling until I met all the three men whom he had mentioned. I conveyed to them his greetings', says Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Another prediction about his world travels was made by Shaikh Abū Abdullāh al-Murshidī at the city of Fua (*Fawwa*) near Alexandria. While staying at his hospice Ibn Baṭṭūṭa dreamt one night that he was seated on the wings of a huge bird who was taking him towards the south and thence towards the north. Then the bird turned eastward, and going again towards the south he made a long flight towards the east placing his rider namely Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in a land which was dark and green. In the morning the aforesaid Shaikh Abū Abdullā al-Murshidī the host disclosed this dream to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and said,' You will perform a pilgrimage and visit the tomb of the Prophet—peace be on him: And you will travel in the countries of Yemen, Iraq, Turkistan and India where you will stop for a long period and there you will meet my brother Dilshād the Indian who will rescue you from an impasse in which you will have fallen.'

making a detour in the direction of Asia Minor he came to Constantinople. Then travelling eastward he came to Nishapur, Hindu Kush, Herat, Kabul and Karmash successively whence he reached the Indus on 12th September, 1333/1st Muharram 734.

(*b*) 1333-1342

After crossing the Indus, Ibn Baṭṭuṭa reached Janānī and visited Sehwān, Lāharī, Bukkur and Uch successively. Then he came to Multān where he had to give an undertaking to the government that he had come with the definite object of staying in the country and of seeking service. He was allowed to resume his journey and passed through Abohar, Abū Bak-har, Ajodhan, Sarsutī, Hāṇsī and Mas'ūdābād *en route* to Dehli He was careful enough always to travel in company; and on his arrival at Dehlī where his companions were counted the number amounted to forty. The original number must have been much larger since we are told that on his leaving Abohar he found himself in the midst of a desert where he and his party were attacked by a band of the Hindus armed with swords, bows and arrows. In the course of the fight that ensued Ibn Baṭṭūṭā was struck and wounded by an arrow and many were killed.

At Dehlī he was appointed qāẓī and assigned the office of hospice administrator (9th June, 1334/5th Shawwāl, 734) and subsequently he went on business to Amroha and Afghānpūr across the Sarjū (August, 1336/Muḥ. 737). In 1338 when the emperor Muḥammad bin Tughluq shifted to Sargadwārī* he also went (1339/740) to join his camp and remained in attendance on him throughout the action caused by the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-mulk. In 1340, he crossed the river Ganges and its tributary the Sarjū in royal company to pay homage at the shrine of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī whence he came back to Dehlī (1341/742). Shortly after this, he renounced the world and joined the group of fakirs in the service of Shaikh Kamāl-ud-din 'Abdullāh al-Ghāri 1341). The emperor called him at Sehwān, desired him to return and offered him service again; but he declined and solicited permission to go to Mecca which was granted (July 1341/Rajab 742). Before long, however, he was asked to conduct a royal embassy to China which he agreed to do (September 1341/Ramazan, 742).

In the course of this period he happened to see a certain man under the executioner's sword and saved his life by recommending him to

*The *Reḥla* has Sargdvar a (gate of paradise) which Ibn Baṭṭuṭa translates as semblance of paradise (*shabih-ul-jannat*). Sargdvara consists of two Hindi & Sanskrit words: (i) the Hindi *sarg* (Sanskrit svarga) meaning heaven or paradise, and (ii) the Sanskrit *dvara* meaning gate. It should be noted that Swargadvara is the name of a Hindu shrine in the town of Ajodhya where it is believed that the body of Ram was cremated. It appears that Muhammad bin Tughluq's attention was drawn by this sacred shrine, his new palace which lay in the Farrukhābād district on the Ganges being not far from it; he preferably borrowed the same name for it.

Ahmad bin Sher Khān, the governor of Gwalior on the plea that he could not bear the sight of anyone being killed. On another occasion when he visited the Jalālī palace at Dehli he recalled the fate of the deceased kings and was moved to tears on finding the palace deserted and uninhabited. He was frightened out of his wits on seeing a jogi suspend himself high up in the air and recovered his consciousness when the emperor administered medicine to him.

He mixed with the people and married one Ḥūr Nasab, the daughter of Saiyid Jalāl-ud-dīn Aḥsan Shāh of Madūra. He was fond of her and she bore him a daughter. But separation took place later, and he did not know what became of either. He mentions no other marriage of his in the course of this period of nine years, although he acknowledges his union with the slave girls. One slave girl bore him a daughter who was born near Bukhārā and died at Dehlī one and a half months after his arrival in India. She had accompanied him from Bukhārā to India. This tends to prove, as he subsequently observes, that he hardly ever travelled without a girl. In the course of his journey towards Constantinople[1] he had purchased two European[2] slave girls—one at Tira near Smyrna and the other at Balikasri[3] near Manisa.

(*c*) 1342-1344

The royal embassy to China started from Dehlī on 22nd July, 1342/17 Safar, 743 but was broken on the way near Koil[4] on account of a Hindū assault. The assailants who numbered 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot got the upper hand, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa lost twenty-three horsemen and fifty-five infantrymen and was left alone. He was then captured by three Hindus who intended to kill him. But he managed to escape and wandered about several days in a jungle in search of food. Whipped by hunger he made his way one day into a 'Hindu village' and begged of the villagers something to eat, but they refused. In the hope of getting better treatment elsewhere he proceeded to another village also inhabited by the Hindus; but far from satisfying his hunger they tried to kill him and searched and assaulted him. He was rescued by the saint Dilshād and was set down in a village called Tājpura,[5] a few miles off Koil where he met his com-

[1] The journey towards Constantinople was a continuation of his journey in Asia Minor which began after he had performed the 6th hajj on 15th August 1331/18 Dhulḥijja, 731. Then he left Mecca & sailing from Jedda passed through Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Tripoli & Asia Minor visiting Anatolia, and Denizli (Ladhiq) where he performed the Id-ul-Fitr prayer (26th June 1332/1 Shawwal, 732).

[2] The text has 'rumiya' which might be translated as Greek; I prefer to translate it as 'European'.

[3] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions the name of this girl as Margaret or Margguerite ( مرغليطة ).

[4] I.e. Aligarh.

[5] A village in the eastern suburbs of modern Aligarh, no longer seen on the maps. See my *Reḥla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (G.O.S p. 150).

panions who had been entrusted with the royal presents and recovered his clothes which on reaching Koil he had given to an Arab. Then the party was reorganized ; and proceeding by way of Brijpur,[1] Kanauj, 'Alāpūr, Gwalior, Chanderi, Dhār and Ujjain they came to Daulatābād whence they journeyed to Nandurbār, Cambay and Goa successively and reached the port of Gandhār. Here they embarked on a ship; and sailing along the Mālābār coast they visited Gogo, Hinawr, Barcelore, Faknar, Manjarūr, Hili, Jurfattan, Dahfattan, Fandarayana and Calicut in succession. At Calicut they embarked on the Chinese ships for the voyage to China; but the ships which conveyed some members of the royal embassy and the presents were wrecked. And Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who was yet waiting for another ship to embark on, was left alone on the shore with no belongings except a carpet and a paltry sum of ten tankas. In the hope that the boat—*kakam*—which had sailed away from Calicut with all his possessions would call and anchor at Quilon, he sailed in that direction to a distance of ten days' journey and disembarked at Quilon putting up in a hospice (*zāwīa*). But he saw no trace of the *kakam*, although he met the Chinese ambassadors who had accompanied him from Dehli and had embarked at Calicut on one of the above-mentioned ships. Their ship had also been wrecked and they now resumed their journey homeward. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa returned to Hinawr (22nd April 1343/26, Dhilqa'da 743) and remained there till 24th July 1343/1, Rabi I, 744 as a guest of the ruler, Sultan Jamal-ud-din whom he accompanied to the Sandapur expedition. In the course of the naval fight that ensued his life was endangered and he leapt into the water and managed to swim to the coast. After the enemy had been defeated he joined hands with the plunderers and rushed forward sword in hand to pursue the fugitives and capture the booty.

After a short stay at Sandapur he set out for Hinawr and landed on 7th January, 1344/20th Sh'ban 744 at Shaliyat where he stayed for an indefinite period. Then he returned to Calicut. There he found two of his slaves who had been on board the *kakam* and was informed that most of his girls and belongings had been captured by the ruler of Sumatra and that his comrades had dispersed over China, Sumatra and Bengal. This upset him; and in a confused state of mind and indecision he bent his steps towards Hinawr whence he repaired to Sandapur (9th June, 1344/26th Muharram, 745) and came towards Calicut. Then he made up his mind to go to the Maldive islands and landed at Kannalus (5th September, 1344/25th Rabi, II, 745) and thence proceeded to Mahal in order to meet Sultana Khadija and the vezir Sulaimān Mānāyak. He arrived there on 18th September, 1344/9th Jumāda I, 745 and desired to remain unrecognized but was identified by a group of the Arab and

[1] I do not agree with the suggestion that Brijpur might be Brajpur or Muttra; *vide* ibid pp. 158-9. Brijpur was certainly a village like Tajpura, somewhere near Jalali.

Persian fakirs who introduced him to the vezir. Then he married four wives in succession and accepted meanwhile the post of qazi (December, 1344/745 Sha'ban). In August 1345/Rabi II, 746 he resigned this post and left the islands taking two of his wives provisionally with him and divorcing the third. As for the fourth who was pregnant he fixed a period of nine months failing which she was free to act as she thought fit. In the course of his voyage from Mahal he dropped anchor at the island of Muluk where he stayed more than two months and married two women. Then he left for the Mahal island which he did not enter, because the vezir insisted on taking back his arms and returned instantly to Muluk which he left finally on or about 12th September, 1345/14 Jumada I, 746.

(*d*) 1344-48

On his way from the Maldive islands to Ma'bar he stopped at Ceylon and met Ayri Shakarvati the king of Ceylon, and visited the Foot of Adam. Then he resumed his voyage in the course of which the wind became violent and the ship wrecked. But he got on to the raft which the sailors had prepared and in this manner reached Madura, the capital of Ma'bar. There he was prostrated by an attack of malignant fever but was relieved on taking about half a *ser* of tamarind which caused him motions. While still unwell, he left for Fattan and arrived at Quilon in the same condition. He boarded a ship *en route* to Hinawr when some pirates[1] fell on him and seized all that he possessed. With great difficulty he arrived at Calicut where he consulted the Quran by divination (*istikhāra*) regarding the voyage to the Maldive islands which he subsequently undertook. Fortunately there was no mishap on the sea. From the Maldive islands this time he sailed in the direction of Bengal which he reached after a voyage of forty-three days (July 1346/Rabi 'I, 747). He visited the towns of Sudkawan and Lakhnauti and went to the mountains of Kamaru to meet a notable saint Shaikh Jalal-ud-din of Tabriz who gave him a mantle.

In August 1346/Rabi' II, 747 he left Bengal and embarked on board a ship bound for Sumatra where he arrived after a voyage of forty days. The king of Sumatra Malik Zahir of the Shafa'i cult gave him a good reception and enabled him after a fortnight to sail for China. On the way he visited Java (*Mul-Jawa*) and the land of Tawalsi. The 'infidel" ruler of Java (*Mul-Jawa*) knew no Arabic and could be understood only through an interpreter; in that kingdom nobody could ride a horse except the king. In the kingdom of Tawalisi which was then ruled by Urduja, an 'infidel' queen, women—free as well as slave—were enrolled in the army like men. In China which he reached after sailing for another seventeen days, the first town he visited was Ts'wan-chow-fu (*Zaitūn*) and thence he

[1] These were the Indian pirates who robbed him of almost everything along the western coast of India somewhere near the Pigeon Island as suggested Sir Henry Yule, see p. 10, footnote 2 *post*.

went to see the district of Sin (*sin-us-Sin*) and Peking (*Khān Bāliq*), the capital of China. The *qān* was absent from Peking having gone out on a hunting expedition in the course of which he was killed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed the public mourning and the disorders that followed.

Afterwards he left China and set out on a return journey visiting on the way the towns of Khansā, Qanjanfu and Zaitun where he boarded a ship which took him *via* Sumatra to Calicut. Then he journeyed in the direction of Arabia and Iran and visited the towns of Dhofar (Ẓafār), Mascaṭ, Shiraz, Isfahan, Basra, Najaf, Kufa, Hilla and Baghdad in succession. From Baghdad which he reached in January, 1348/Shawwal 748 he proceeded to Damascus whence he travelled to Jerusalem and then to Cairo and arrived in Mecca (16th November 148/22nd Sha'ban 749) to perform the 7th and last pilgrimage.

(e) 1348-1353

From Mecca he went to Cairo and then started for Morocco reaching the royal city of Fez on 6th November, 1349/23rd Sha'ban 750. After some time he resumed his journey and set out in the direction of Spain (*Andalus*). On the way he visited Gibraltar and the towns of Ronda, Marbala and Granada. Then he came back to Fez passing through Marrakush.

After some days he set out again and proceeded in the direction of Negroland on the Niger ; in the course of this journey he visited the towns of Sijilmasa and Taghaza. Here he stayed about two weeks and then travelled in the direction of Malli, the capital of Negroland where he met Mansa Sulaiman, the Negro ruler.

On 27th February 1237/22nd Muḥarram, 754 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa left Malli exploring the middle course of the river Niger which he called the 'Nile' or the 'Nile of the Negroes' ; in the course of this journey he visited the towns of Timbuktu, Takadda and Buda successively and arrived finally at Fez. Here ended his travels, and the composition of the *Reḥla* entitled *Tuḥfat-un-Nuẓẓār fī gharā'ib-il-Amṣār wa 'Ajaib-il-Asfār* was finished on Wednesday, 9th December, 1355/3rd Dhilhijja, 756.

Little is known about Ibn Baṭṭuṭa since that date until his death which is said to have occurred in or about 1377-78/780. It appears that he fell into oblivion on account of his old age and passed away quietly some years after his *Reḥla* had been abridged by Ibn Juzayy.

Besides being a qazi Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a scholar and liked to mix with the scholars of the world. Wherever he went he was highly respected and was looked upon in different societies and countries as a *faqīh*—a term then used for a man of profound learning or doctor or legist. Occasionally he has named the classical works on Islam or Hadis which he studied in the company of or under the guidance of, the renowned professors and authors in Arabia, Egypt and Iraq. And he had even devotees who drew inspiration from him. He was apparently not unacquainted with the art

of writing books. It would be no wonder if it were proved—although he does not say so—that he aspired[1] from the beginning to write out his *Rehla*. From his habit of collecting mementoes and going into the details of everything he saw and of every person or set of persons and people he contacted it is evident that he used to take copious notes during his travels. He mentions that he copied many of the epitaphs at Bukhārā, which he lost among other things when he was robbed[2] along the Malabar coast by the pirates of India. His chef d'oeuvre, therefore, was not only his *promenade* which too was unique[3] and places him topmost[4] in the list of medieval travellers but his marvellous book—*Tuhfat-un-Nuzzār fi gharāib-il-Amsār wa ajāib-il-Asfār* i.e. an excellent book for the readers regarding the wonders of cities and the marvels of travels. Such was the name given to his book of travels (*Rehla*).[5] It is really a mine of history for the period it covers ; it is a well-head of interesting information for all times.

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[1] My study of the *Rehla* does not enable me to agree with the school of writers who contend that 'Ibn Battūta was not himself a man of letters who was likely to regard his experiences as material for a book; on the contrary, he seems to have entertained no idea of writing them down.'

[2] See p. 6. *supra*.

[3] Penetrating through rapid streams, burning deserts, treacherous ravines, dusty roads, rough and even dreadful and unknown seas Ibn Battūta faced incredible perils in the course of his long travels ranging over 77,640 relentless miles. Yule is of opinion that the total distance travelled by Ibn Battūta was over 75,000 miles short of his journeys during his eight-year service in India and immediately after the resignation. These come to 2,640 miles according to a rough compass measurement made by me. The total rises to 77,640 out of which he covered more than 14,318 miles in the course of his travels through India, the Maldive islands and Ceylon which form the most interesting part of all his travels. He visited all the places of importance in the Islamic world, for example Mecca, Medina, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Najaf, Isfahan, Shiraz, Kufa, Karbala, Palestine, Tripoli, Samarqand, Khurāsān, Bukhārā, Khwarizm, Balkh, Herat, Meshhed, Nishapur, Ghazni, Kabul, Dehli, Sonargaon, Sardinia, Gibraltar, Granāda and Fez. He also visited the zawias or hospices at almost all these places and contacted the most renowned ulama and mashaikh or sufi saints wherever he could find them. Further he visited the court of every Muslim ruler of his age and went beyond into the non-Muslim countries of Constantinople, Ceylon and China.

[4] Among the greatest travellers of the medieval world Hans von Mzik the German translator of the *Rehla* (*Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China* pp. 2-10) considers Marco Polo as the first and Ibn Battūta as the second. For the precedence thus assigned to Marco Polo he gives no causes other than those of the latter's faith in Christianity and par excellence his 'spiritual heights & his simplicity or freedom from prejudice.'. So far in all probability Mzik is sentimental and his judgment vis-à-vis a Christian and Muslim traveller is obviously parochial. Nevertheless he concedes that 'Ibn Battūta has earned without doubt the second position'. Mzik affirms that Ibn Battūta has surpassed Marco Polo in the amount and duration of travels.

[5] Also written as Rihla, it means journey or travelling.

# THE TUDEH PARTY

By *V. Courtois, S.J.*

DURING the last decade the name *Tudeh Party*, or simply *Tudeh*, has been mentioned time and again in the foreign as well as in the Iranian press. Although officially banned as a party the activities of the Tudeh cannot be ignored if one is to have a comprehensive view of the political and economic situation of Persia, and of the special difficulties which beset the present Government.[1]

*Tudeh*, the party of the masses (*tudeh*) is a revolutionary socialist party founded in 1941. It is manifestly the political party of Iran which is best organized; it is not, indeed, the party of a personality only, it is not merely the worshipful following of some political grandee, it is the *party of an idea*: political and social revolution of a type inspired by the 1917 revolution of Soviet Russia. This is what makes the strength of the party and gives it its vitality inspite of continual Governmental pressure.

The fundamental conception of the founders and chief leaders of the Tudeh party is based on the Marxism of Lenin. In practice the Tudeh behaves very much like all other communist organizations; but it is careful not to identify itself explicitly with Communism apparently because its membership counts many somewhat moderate leftists of influence; then if it remains rosy rather than turn blood red it may have a greater appeal to the still timid masses of the interior of Iran.

In home politics the party gives itself as the herald and defender of true democracy. It addresses itself primarily to the factory workers since they are always more easily roused against "oppression" and "capitalism"; but the peasants who form the bulk of the population of the country are not neglected: they are made to look with envy at their rich and comfortably living landlords.

With regard to foreign relations the party favours the U.S.S.R. and follows its dictates in international politics. In 1946, for instance, it would have been ready to grant Russia special oil concessions.

*Origin of the Movement.*—The revolutionary movement in Iran goes back to the very beginning of the century. From 1905 to 1907 socialist elements, mainly from Azerbaidjan, were prominent

[1] In the summer 1953 issue of *Hamizrah Hehadash*, an excellent quarterly published by the Oriental Society attached to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, there appeared a detailed study by A. Kapeliouk on the "Tudeh Party in Iran". The article was rendered in French in *La Documentation Francaise, Orient et Occident*, Dec. 31, 1953. We venture to make free use of this article.

in the popular agitation against the autocracy of the Shah and in the struggle for a Constitution. The leader was then a young man of 25, Taki Zadeh, who had been influenced by the revolutionary movement brooding in Russia. But it was not before the October 1917 revolution that anything positive could be done in Iran. The success achieved, however, was of a very temporary and unstable nature: a Soviet Republic founded on the Caspian Sea at Gilan lived only for one year (1920-21); the various attempts against the state, local risings at Tehran and in Khorasan, the organization of revolutionary groups, all failed. To succeed, the movement needed the backing of industrial workers and a definite political and economic programme capable of attracting the masses; both were still lacking.

A party, *Idalat* (Justice) which tried to stir up the working classes in the Baku region and to spread to other industrial centres was able to organize certain groups of workers in syndicates; it could not do much more.

Meanwhile, in February 1921, Reza Kuli who was to become Reza the Great and the Founder of Modern Iran, had seized power and was actively busy curbing all disruptive elements and shaping anew the old empire of the Pahlavi. Reza knew that the enemies of Iran and of its venerable culture infiltrate through the northern frontiers of the country. The people of Iran had to be rallied round one idea, united into one powerful nation with one will ; and that will was to be his own. In 1925 Reza, the son of a noble family of Mazandaran, became Shahinshah. He at once dissolved all political parties and restricted considerably constitutional liberties. Four years later, to forestall a recrudescence of Communism, he decreed that any attempt at creating political parties with Red leaning would be a crime liable to lead to prison.

In 1930 Dr. Taki Arani, the future spiritual father of the Tudeh Party, returned from Germany where he had graduated. Appointed lecturer at the Tehran University, he soon gathered around him a group of students and other intellectuals who had always nurtured Marxist ideas and who detested the imperial rule. The group started a review, *Dunia* (the World) and was able to carry on its work without serious molestation for several years. But in 1937 the blow fell; Dr. Arani and 52 collaborators were sent to spend various terms in jail. Dr. Arani died during his term. Convinced Marxist he had translated into Persian the classical works of socialism.

In 1938 the situation became very tense for men of the Left; there were many arrests and it looked as if the development of Communism had been checked. But when the "Allies", that is England and Russia, entered Persia at the beginning of World War II, and deposed Reza Shah the Great in 1941, the hydra of Communism once more raised its head.

The reign of Reza Shah had in fact indirectly prepared the ground for the red ideology: under the Shah's lead, industry had no doubt developed

considerably, but it had drawn the peasants away from the field or from their traditional looms to the town and its quick money ; and the autocratic ways of the powerful Monarch were not appreciated by all. As long, however, as he was at the helm, Communism had little chance, and if he had time to complete the social reforms which he planned, the Tudeh party would probably never have been born. The fall of Reza together with the development of the working class afforded Communism the opportunity it secretly awaited to organize itself and spread through the masses.

*The First Steps of the Tudeh.*—The departure of Reza Shah opened a new era in the political life of Iran. General amnesty was granted to all political prisoners and the ban on the formation of political parties was lifted.

On the 2nd October 1941, a group of leftist recently released from prison gathered in Tehran and formed the *Tudeh Party* under the presidentship of a veteran revolutionary, Soliman Mohsen Iskandari. Other prominent members of the first committee were Iredj Iskandari, Dr. Mutarza Yezdi, Dr. Reza Radmaneh, Reza Rousia, the former Minister for the Interior of the ephemeral republic of Gilan, Djafar Pichevari of Azerbaijan. At this time the party included all the different leftist organizations which had been dissolved by Reza Shah ; its leaders were revolutionaries who had grown more determined and more embittered during the years spent in prison.

The party, therefore, spent the first two years of its free existence organizing itself and creating cells of penetration mainly among the workers. The party worked where it had a better chance of quick success, among the industrial workers of the Northern zone of Iran, then under Soviet control, Azerbaijan, Gilan, Mazanderan, Khorasan. But the party stretched its tentacles to other areas as well, especially in and around Ispahan, the centre of the textile industry.

By June 1942 the party was able to hold its first general conference at Tehran. The Conference which was attended by some 120 delegates, demanded that political life be organized on democratic lines ; it demanded the partition of the land among the peasants, the right of forming syndicates and their official recognition, the right to strike, etc. . . The Conference also stressed the necessity of the ideological (communist) education of the masses.

Meanwhile the usual red tactics were set in motion: by the end of 1942 and in the first months of 1943 strikes broke out in several centres, and they were crowned with success. This gradually emboldened the workers.

The influence of the party increased further by the creation in 1943 of a "Liberty Front" which grouped some 20 leftist newspapers of Tehran and at least 10 from the provinces. It also encouraged various organizations patronized by the Tudeh, various syndicates, women, youth, student organizations. . .

The Front had for special objective to help the war effort of the allies and to combat the Nazi and Fascist sympathies of the intellectual class. This campaign whilst being of great help to the U.S.S.R. gave the party an aureola of patriotism ; by 1944, indeed, the Liberty Front and the Tudeh were almost identified.

When in 1944 elections were held for the Iranian Parliament the real strength of the new party became apparent. In spite of difficulties created here and there, the Party that had worked as a model of unity, was able to send 9 deputies to Parliament, all from the Russia controlled zone except worker Taki Fedakar who was from Ispahan. Where the Tudeh had no candidate, it backed the progressist candidates.

The first National Congress of the Party was held in August 1944 and was attended by 168 delegates from all over Iran. The Congress confirmed with some amendments the statutes adopted at the first Tehran Conference of 1942 and strengthened its central organization by forming a Central Committee, a political bureau, a committee of control and a secretariat. Speakers on the occasion of the Congress criticized severely the spirit of compromise so far adopted and the party's readiness to co-operate with other movements ; they demanded that the policy of the party be more categorically socialist.

Meanwhile an old friend of Reza Shah and a companion of the 1921 *Coup d'Etat* had become Prime Minister of Iran, Sayid Zia al-Din Tabatabay. Pro-British, he was a sworn enemy of the Tudeh party and with the help of his own party—*Iradey-e-Milli* (The National Will)—he managed to have repressive measures sanctioned against the growing communist party. But neither Sayid Tabatabay nor his immediate successor Mohammed Saed were able to remain long in power. The Tudeh created trouble and demanded the resignation of the ministry and the power passed to a liberal and friend of the Tudeh, Bayait ; this was in mid-November 1944. It was a great victory for the Communists even if it was to be a short one ; three months later the Cabinet fell again and passed to Sadr who resumed Sayid Tabatabay's policy. Sadr, with determination arrested Tudeh leaders, banned its newspapers, sealed the party's offices and syndicates. . . He refused to listen to the claims of Azerbaidjan for cultural and administrative autonomy ; his refusal was answered by a revolt in Azerbaidjan.

*The Azerbaidjan affair.*—There was in Azerbaidjan a Democratic Party with great affinities with the Tudeh. Now Azerbaidjan is linguistically and traditionally different from the rest of Persia, and had in the past been treated too much perhaps as a step-brother. In August 1945 therefore the leader of the "Democratic Party," Djafar Pichevari, appealed to the population of the province to rally round the party and obtain the autonomy of the province within Iran. The Tudeh backed up the demand. On December 12, 1945 in a Congress held at Tabriz the people of Azerbaidjan proclaimed their autonomy and made a government under the presidency of Pichevari.

The new Government soon had himself recognized all over the province and introduced agrarian reforms. At the same time in neighbouring Kurdistan the "Kurdish Democratic Party" under the lead of Ghazi Muhammad also proclaimed an autonomous Government in Persian Kurdistan.[1]

The central Government was taken aback and Sadr had to resign. His successor, Hakimi, tried in vain to bring the Azerbaidjan affair onto the international plane ; he too had to go. Then came Ghawam al-Soltaneh's Government favourable to the democratic movement of Azerbaidjan. In April 1946 the Ghawam Ministry recognized the legality of the demands of the people of Azerbaidjàn and in June an agreement was arrived at and signed between the Centre and the Province. It was agreed that Azerbaidjan would have an autonomous parliament, but the Governor General would be appointed by the Centre ; the commander in Chief of the Forces would be an Officer of the Iranian Army.

The affairs of the Tudeh party were beginning to boost. Ghawam had included three Tudeh men in his Government ; in the North, Pichavari was dancing to the tune of the Tudeh ; in the South at Abadan thousands of workmen had downed their tools for over two months and the strike had led to bloodshed ; there were strikes also in other centres ; the 1st May had seen hundreds of thousands of factory workers publicly manifesting under the lead of the Tudeh and its syndicates.

But soon things began to take another turn. Influential political men like Zia al-Din Tabatabay censured the Government for giving in to the Tudeh ; the Arabs of the Kuzistan Province in the South threatened to join Iraq ; the Bakhthiar and the Kachgais Tribes demanded the same autonomy as had been granted to Azerbaidjan, and the British grew anxious over their oil fields. The Ghawam ministry had to tone down and to recall some of its pro-Tudeh decisions: in October the Tudeh Members of the Government were set aside and the parleys with Azerbaidjan interrupted. Under pretext of insuring free elections in the Province, the Iranian Army in December 1946 entered Azerbaidjan and took control of the Province ; the Azerbaidjan army was unable or unwilling to oppose the Government Forces as the times were not ripe yet for open revolution. Some separatist chiefs fled to the U.S.S.R., whilst stringent measures were taken against the Democratic Party, its liberty curtailed, its syndicates closed and all its activities paralysed. The Azerbaidjan Democratic Party made an inglorious end.

*Underground.*—The failure of the Azerbaidjan affair and the change of attitude of the Government towards the program and the methods of the Tudeh forced the party to seek shelter underground. But although officially in disfavour and with its top leaders either in hiding or holidaying in U.S.S.R.,

[1] The Middle East Journal, Vol. I, No. 3 (July 1947): The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad.

the party still managed to get two of its members in parliament after the elections of 1947, elections which the party had to a great extent boycotted!

The relative inactivity of the Tudeh led some leftists like Malki and Dr. Bayhi to try to form parties of their own "The Socialist Party of Iran", "The Party of the Workers of Iran". These secondary parties achieved apparently little. In spite of its relative clandestinity it was the Tudeh Party that appealed to the Masses. On May 1st. 1947 it was able to hold some sort of a congress which some 118 delegates attended.

Then on February 4th 1949, there was an attempt on the life of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, and notwithstanding the Party's strong denial, the Tudeh was made at least partly responsible for the attempt and declared illegal. There were once more numerous arrests.

This was the period when the movement for the nationalization of the oil was gathering momentum. Now the Tudeh had always favoured the nationalization. With the hope, therefore, of regaining public and governmental sympathy the Tudeh organized meetings and manifestations attended by many thousands of people demanding the nationalization of the oil. But when Dr. Mossadegh came to power and the oil was nationalized the Police and the Tudeh came into frequent clashes with the result that the official attitude towards the party remained one of suspicion and distrust.

On May 28, 1951 the Tudeh submitted to Dr. Mossadegh a long memorandum demanding among other things that the Party should be declared legal again and all political prisoners be released, that foreign military aid should be rejected, that the oil of Bahrein too should be nationalized since Bahrein is claimed by Iran. All these demands fell on deaf ears.

Things, however, were gradually turning the way the Tudeh had desired: Iran was growing daily more entranged from England and America, tension was growing between the Imperial Court and the Prime Minister ; and the Tudeh could hope to be at last re-instated. It was in vain; the party remained banned and had to act under the masque of other organizations. But when Mossadegh discovered that he could not intimidate the Shah into subservience and that his attacks on the Imperial Court had made him many enemies, that he had failed to settle satisfactorily the oil problem he felt that he could no more refuse the outstretched hand of the Communist Party. He did not as yet dare to remove officially the ban on the party ; but the Supreme Tribunal of Iran allowed nine of the Tudeh Leaders that had escaped arrest, to return to Iran and it recommended that the measures taken against the party in 1949 be rescinded. The decision of the Tribunal was equivalent to legalization of the party ; it became the practice of the tribunals to release the members of the Tudeh arrested by order of the military authorities. In August 1953 when the Shah suddenly left Iran the Tudeh put forward again its old demand, that the monarchy be abolished and Iran declared a democratic republic.

The *coup d'etat* of General Zahedi dealt a severe blow to the communist party ; it had once more to duck into hiding, General Zahedi is decided to eradicate the communist menace and the Tudeh is relentlessly hunted out: many of its leaders and members are in jail. The Tudeh, however, is not yet dead ; it is publishing an underground paper, *Mardom*, trying to keep alive the ideal of the party.

*Organization.*—The structure of the Tudeh is the one of all Communist organizations. The party is based on the cells system spread through factories, slums, schools. . . The cell is the really active centre where members meet, plan, organize meeting, are indoctrinated. . . . The delegates from the cells elect yearly a local committee which is the executive organ of the party in the locality. Above the local committees, are the regional committees which may cover a district or even a province. The supreme organ of the party in a country is the national Congress which elects a central committee. In August 1944 when the first National Congress of the Tudeh was held it elected an eleven-member Central Committee, a nine-member Control Committee, a Political Bureau to replace the office of President which had been held until his death in February 1944 by Souliman Mohsen Iskandari, and a three member secretariat. The secretariat was reduced to one general secretary in 1946 to facilitate the work of organization. Because of repression by the Government, several members of the Central Committee had to leave Iran and a temporary Action Committee was created. The Secretary General, Reza Radmanesh, is actually in U.S.S.R.

The statutes of the party impose on each member a monthly contribution of 30 rials for men and 15 rials for women and young workers. But the influence of the party extends far beyond the paying members.

Publications and the press hold a very important place among the activities of the Tudeh ; publications are necessary for internal organization and for outside propaganda.

As early as 1941, only a few weeks after its foundation the party had its first paper *Siasat* (Politics) ; but after the Tehran Conference a special section for publication was created and a new organ started. In 1943 the Committee launched a daily *Rahbar* (The Instructor) which printed from 2,000 to 5,000 copies between 1943 and 1945, a fair number for Iran. When *Rahbar* came under Government censure, it was replaced by *Razm* (The Struggle) which in 1950 was addressed mainly to Youth. Other papers directed by the Tudeh were *Zafar* (Victory) the organ of the Workers Syndicates, *Adjir* (The Wage Earner), *Firman* (Precept) an evening paper, etc. . . The party had its own publishing house and press.

Whenever a paper came under a ban or was suppressed by the Government, it was at once replaced by another. The official papers of the party however were as a rule published clandestinely.

The Tudeh, like most leftist organizations, used to multiply its committees and organization so as to reach as many people as possible and of whatever class or milieu they may be. The multiplicity and diversity of the organizations helped as a masque when the party had to go underground. The Tudeh had special organizations for workers, for students, for women or young folk ; it organized a "For the Peace" movement in 1949 cutting through the various strata of the Society ; it had a "Journalist Association" an "Anti-imperialist Committee", a "Literacy Movement"...

*The Influence of the Party.*—The influence of the Tudeh was particularly great among workmen and intellectuals such as students and professors.

It was the Tudeh which first successfully started workers syndicates in Iran. On May 1st, 1943 it created a "Central Council of Workers Syndicates in Iran." The Council took up the cause of the Workers and in two years time grouped over 100,000 workers. By means of strikes and manifestations it obtained for the workers the introduction of a special legislation, the 8 hours work per day, the right to strike and to form syndicates for workers, special measures to combat or relieve unemployment.

Even when underground the party carried on its campaign on behalf of the workers.

The Tudeh ideology appealed also to students. According to the Rector of the Tehran University in 1951 up to 75% of the Students of Tehran University, numbering some 5,000, had pro-communist leanings. Many lecturers too were under the influence of the Tudeh ; the Tudeh had its sympathisers even in secondary and primary schools and among Government officials.

But the future of the Tudeh Party will depend on the success it will meet in the villages where over 80% of the population is found. So far, however, it has not been able to penetrate much in the villages. The peasants are not easily stirred up by mere promises. The big landlords are also on the look out and try to keep in check the activities of the Red agents.

On the tribes the influence of the Tudeh is almost nil ; they are rather opposed to it as was seen above, and they have always stood for the Shah.

The Tudeh has not succeeded either in making any serious inroad in the army or in the police. Whenever a cell was discovered it was immediately weeded out.

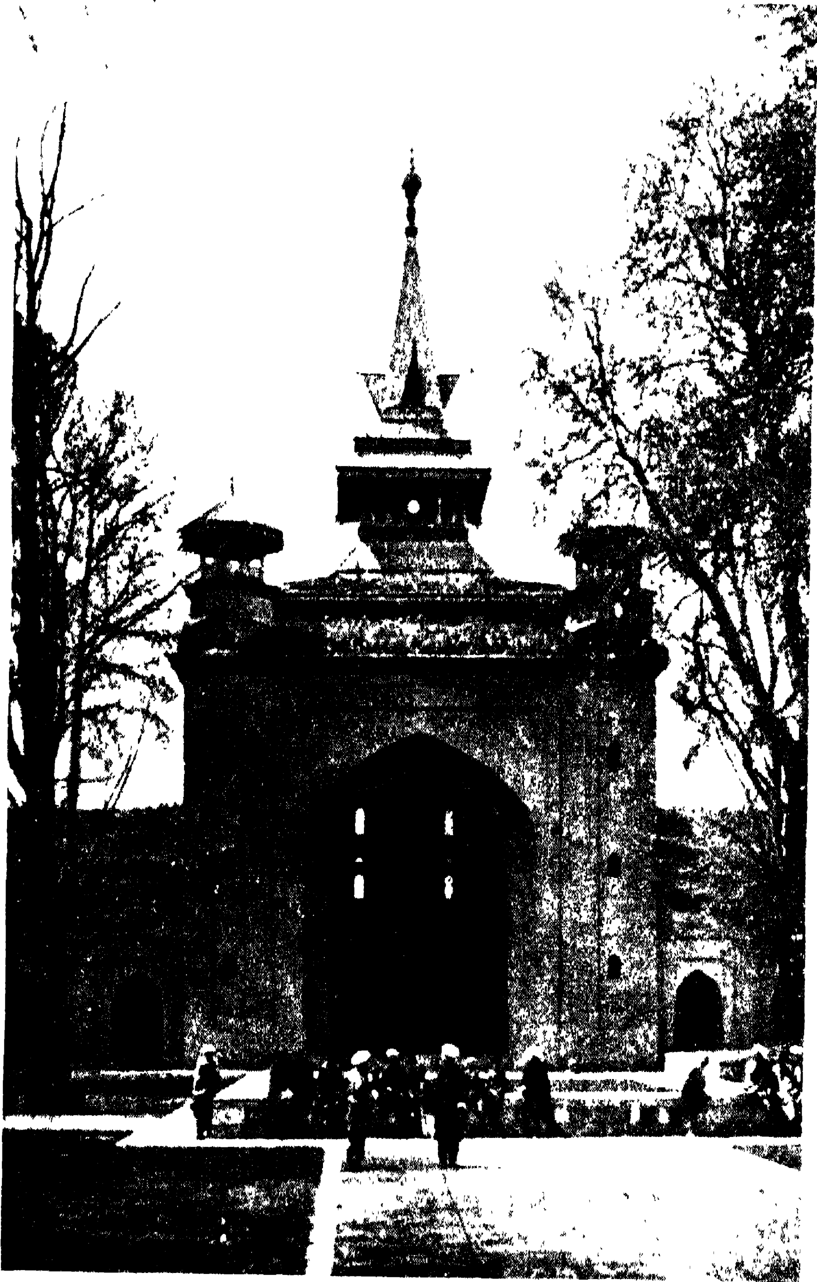
The Tudeh has been very active among the minorities, the Armenians, the Assyrians, the Kurdes, the Azeris, promising them equality of right with the rest of the population ; but except in Azerbaidjan the party met with little response. Since the change of Government the Tudeh has suffered a great set back even in the northern regions.

The Tudeh is the only party in Iran that works for the welfare and advancement of women. It demands for them equality of rights with men. In July 1943 it created a women organization to vindicate the rights of women. In the public manifestations of the Tudeh, often women take part and walk in procession with the men.

One of the great obstacles encountered by the Tudeh is the influence of Islamic orthodoxy. Although it avoids any show of atheism and point to the religious liberty of the Muslims in the southern republics of the U.S.S.R., the Mullahs are not taken in and are always ready to defend the old values.

As to the numerical strength of the party it is very difficult to evaluate it ; Communist organizations rarely give numbers about their own membership. Outside estimate vary between 30,000 and 300,000 ; but it is evident that the influence of the Party extends far outside the circle of its members. Its importance can be judged by what it has achieved notwithstanding Governmental opposition.

The Tudeh, banned and in disgrace, remains a force to be reckoned with and which should not be underestimated. Mere repression indeed will not keep the Tudeh in stem ; the causes of discontent of the masses must be removed, better conditions of work must be given to factory workers, the peasants must be protected against greedy landlords, the general standard of life must be raised. To this task under the lead and example of His Imperial Majesty, the Zahedi Government has dedicated itself. Its success will be watched with great interest.



JAMI' MASJID AT SRINAGAR
FOUNDED BY SIKANDAR BUTSHIKAN.
(EARLY 15TH CENTURY A.D.)

# KASHMIR: ITS MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE IN WOOD

*By Mr. A. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A., P.R.S.*

KASHMIR provides perhaps the longest range of variations in architecture amongst all the different States of India. While the first stage of architectural development in the State is represented by the lithic remains of the Buddhist and Hindu periods, the medieval period of wooden structures is marked by the religious edifices erected by the Muhammadan rulers of the land. A later phase of the last period, again, was brought about by a revival of the stone structures following the Mughal rule. With the Muhammadan occupation of the land in the 14th century of the Christian era the style of architecture that predominantly came to be characteristic of the age was entirely executed in wood. While in pursuance of an ancient usage and in obedience to the needs of climate wooden structures came nearest to the age-old tradition of the country, those in lithic execution appeared unfamiliar to it. The easy availability of serviceable timber served towards the proper encouragement of the style further.

### *Absence of Buddhist Influence*

The main technique of the Muhammadan workmanship in Kashmir during the 14th and 15th centuries and for a few centuries later, lay in a very elementary device of house planning. A log of wood crossed another horizontally producing a suitable basement for a wall or a super-structure, however heavy. The Deodar or the Cedrus Deodara provided the main stock for the purpose and were flowed down the strong currents of moutain-streams. Although in wooden structure we have a hoary history in India from the early Buddhist period, the native style of Kashmirian architecture in wood of the medieval period was the least influenced by the former. The style, free completely as it is, from struts, trusses or diagonal members necessary for lateral rigidity, is based on the simple principle of a dead weight being laid on a very strong plinth, very much in the same fashion as the early medieval architecture of the Hindus.

For obvious reasons not much of the early specimens of timber architecture of the State has come down to us. Nor is it found for the same reasons, to be continued all alone in the successive periods of architectural development of the land. A mixture of stone and timber was, therefore, the natural manifestation even in the Mughal period.

### *Masjid and Mausoleum—Typical Structure*

In Kashmir, as elsewhere, the Masjid or the Mausoleum serve as the type of a structural edifice of the Muslims. The latter, called the *Ziarat,* is a typical structure of the region but architecturally the Masjid or the *Ziarat* are nothing very different between themselves. The main elements in both of them consist of a lower cubical structure containing the chamber,

a pyramidal roof in tiers and above all a slender spire very much like the Gothic *fleche*. In the larger mosques there is a further structure of a square open pavilion put between the apex of the roof and the base of the spire. From this latter the *muazzin* calls the faithful to prayer, it thus taking the place of the minar of the usual type of mosques.

### *Earliest Specimen*

The earliest prototype of the Pathan style in Kashmir is a masjid of the early 15th century. Founded by Sikandar Butshikan, the Jami Masjid is an exquisite and impressive architectural edifice in the most intimate native style of Kashmir. Built mainly in wood this structure is an instructive exemplar of this style at Srinagar. The mosque, stupendous in original conception, gained further splendour by the subsequent extensions effected by Zain-ul-Abidin, the son and successor of the founder. It was thrice burnt down and thrice rebuilt, and in all its successive restorations, the original plan and the design seem to have been respected. Although it is not a complete show in wood in that in its outer structure much of brick masonry is noticeable, yet in its interior spacings all that is architecturally important, including the stupendous walling and flooring of the chambers in the two stories, is certainly in wooden workmanship of a very high order. In design this huge structure conforms very closely to the type of Kashmirian wooden building which came into being a few centuries ago. Yet it is not very far away in the total effect from the orthodox Indian plan of a mosque. Surrounded on all sides with wide colonnades, the central space is a square courtyard 240 ft. in diameter. With an exterior wall of plain brick-work inter-spersed with projecting entrances on all the four sides except the west, the elevation presents a symmetry of its own The main entrance on the south consists of a portico, recessed and leading across the colonnade into the interior courtyard. A series of arched arcades with a clerestory goes round the courtyard with the interruption of a semi-independent structure at the sequence of arches on each side. The continuous and manifold aisles and cloisters, all pillared, are what constitute the basis for the magnificent conception. The interior perspective of the nave is maintained by the vertically erect wooden pillars set against an arched *mihrab* carved into the interior wall. A dignity attached to the elevation by the measured proportions of the halls and the timbered ceilings supported by lofty columns. The stately proportions of this massive structure appear pleasing and impressive on the whole but the entire composition is a 'dimensional grandiosity' in wooden architecture. It reveals none of the intimately orthodox genius of the Muhammadan architect of India but rather stands apart by the "unemotional" character of its architectural exuberance.

### *Another Typical Structure*

Built on an irregular foundation of some ruined Hindu temple right on the Jhelum and set against a far-flung background of the "snowy cliffs" is



MOSQUE OF SHĀH HAMADAN ON THE JHELUM
(17TH CENTURY A.D.)

the mosque of Shah Hamadan. A production of the 17th century, it typifies the wooden architecture of the next few hundred years. If a visit to the "Earthly Paradise" is a thing one cannot afford to miss in life, a glimpse of the gay colour clustering round this sacred shrine on festive occasions and reflected against a sheet of clear mountain-water passing by is one of the many happy memories difficult to forget.

About 50 ft. tall upto its eaves it is square in ground plan with a side of 70 ft. It is a two-storied building with a pyramidal roof on which stands a square pavilion open on all sides for the *Muazzin*. It is a Hindu prototype in wooden workmanship at the Muslim hands of the 17th century, the crowning steeple with its tapering finial reminds one of the *Hti* of the Buddhist Stupa architecture. The entire structure rising to a total height of 125 ft. from the ground maintains a summetry in lines. Almost immediately beneath the eaves projects a heavy cornice corbelled out from the wall-face and producing a denticle of a very crude effect. Superimposition of still lighter structures all around has been a highly characteristic feature with these wooden patterns of the 17th century. Arcades, verandahs and porticos wrought with fine lattice-work have only added to the ornamental workmanship of the age. Kashmir, famous for its gay light colours, has afforded a convenient basis in this wooden edifice for expressing its ideas of balance and beauty. A grace of the line and expression of natural artistry which are among the common characteristics of the age are remarkably manifested in the pyramidal roof rising in three tiers with a surmounting pavilion on which is crowned the steeple. The three tires formed by planks with a rectangular base-line are covered almost completely with turf serving as suitable beds for tulips and iris which in their seasonal blossoms present a spectacular grandeur. Immediately above the open pavilion pillared on all sides, almost gable-like projections symmetrically let out from the base of the steeple all around, effectively break its architectural formality.

### *"Unaffected Production"*

Almost with a strange coincidence and unlike the orthodox plan of the mosque the interior of the hall on the ground floor is at once a study in dignified simplicity and spaciousness that was noticed in the pre-Mughal mosque of Bengal. It is an "unaffected production" in its whole effect. It shows artistic treatment but has no remarkable architectural pretensions. The pillars which fill the hall are all tapering and have all foliated bases and capitals. The walls, all panelled and painted, the recessed *mihrab*, arched in the Saracenic pointed end, the ceiling painted all over inside and, above all, the floor spread over with daintily coloured carpets for the Mominins in prayers, lend the whole atmosphere a charming effect which is at once grand and solemn. We are at once transported from the immediate surroundings of sensuous beauty to the sublime serenity of perennial bliss.*

# A PERSIAN POET'S HOMAGE TO RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

*By Chinmoy Dutt, M.A.*

*Research Scholar, Department of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University*

T. S. Eliot in his *Collected Essays,* has rightly observed that "the great poet in writing himself, writes his time. Thus, Dante, hardly knowing it, became the voice of the Thirteen Century, Shakespeare, hardly knowing it, became the representative of the end of the Sixteenth Century, of a turning point in history." So was Rabindranath, whose fame and influences transcended the artificial geographical boundaries and reached the remote corners of the literary world. Rabindranath to a considerable extent, dominated the first half of the twentieth cenury and inspired the oriental writers much more than any other living writers—Eastern or Western. In his life-time he received ovations from them in different languages to which it is hard to find any parallel. As in his life so in his death he became an idol of the millions of his readers and admirers at home and abroad. Much has been written on his life and works, but little has been said about his tremendous influences on the writings of some Oriental writers who have profusely paid their glowing homage due to him in their own way.

I am reproducing below a poem written in Persian, along with its literal English translation. This poem may be said to be a unique piece of literature which has so far escaped the proper notice of our scholars.

This poem was composed on the occasion of the Seventieth-birthday Celebrations of Poet Rabindranath Tagore, held in Iran in the month of November, 1931.

The Poet Ghulām Raẓā Khān Rashīd-i-Yāsimī, is a well known litterateur of modern Iran. He was born in A.H. 1314 in Kirman Shahan. In A.H. 1333 he came to Tehran and spent his life in studies and service to the crown. The poet has several important literary creations, but he died only recently.

The poem is significant in that it vividly reflects on the cultural affinity between Iran and India. The underlying spirit of the poem can be summed up in the following words of the poet Rashīd-i-Yāsimī. "It is befitting that from Iran I should travel to India (in the same way as Muslims proceed to Mecca for pilgrimage) to partake of the celebrations of your seventieth birthday."

Dr. M. Ishaque, who got this poem from Dr. Kalidas Nag, first published it in his well-known work "Sukhanvarān-i-Iran dar 'Aṣr-i-Ḥāzir" (Poets



DR RABINDRANATH TAGORE
WHEN ON A VISIT TO IRAN

and Poetry of modern Persia). We give below the original poem by Rashīd-i-Yāsimī and its literal translation into English:

درود باد بر آن شاعر بلند مقام * کزو ببالد فخر و بدو بنازد نام
گزیدهٔ شعرا مفخر ادب تاگور * که کشور سخن از وی گرفت نظم و قوام
یگانه مهر درخشان شرق کز نورش * زدوده گشت جهان سخن ز زنگ ظلام
چو آفتاب ز آفاق شرق تابان شد * وز او گرفت همه غرب روشنائی وام
نماند گوشهٔ اندر همه بسیط زمین * که صیت فضلش ننهاد اندر آنجا گام
ز گفته های دلاویز و نکته های لطیف * همی رساند جان را از آسمان پیغام
کند پدید ز لفظ بدیع و معنی نغز * بخاطر اندر آثار روح در اجسام
معانی اندر لفظش چو عالم ملکوت * که نیست آنجا اندیشه از فشار و زحام
ترانه های دل انگیز او بهر روزی * هزار خاطر آشفتة را کند آرام
هنروری که ز سحر کلام چیره شده است * بشرق و غرب زمین بر قلوب و بر افهام
ز رای روشن او بهره میبرد یکسان * زدوده فکر خواص و خموده طبع عوام
ایا خلاصهٔ ذوق و کمال و دانش شرق * که چون تو پور نزاید ز مادر ایام
بهیچ جای چنان قدر تو نشناسند * که در قلمرو سعدی و کشور خیام
نه چون دگر شعرا شعر های دلکش تو * شکایت شب هجر است و وصف جام مدام
که هرچه گوئی پند است و حکمت و اخلاق * ز بهر صلح و صفا و ز بهر امن و سلام
ز داروی سخنت جان دردمند بشر * نجات یابد از آسیب محنت و آلام
ترا از جائزه های نوبل که بگرفتی * اگر هزار بگیری هنوز نیست تمام
نثار شعر ترا شاید ار سپهر بلند * بیفکند مه و خورشید و زهره و بهرام
بجشن هفتاد از عمر تو ببایستی * که سوی هند ار ایران ببستمی احرام
چو راه دور مرا زین طواف دارد باز * بدین قصیده فرستم ترا درود و سلام
به پیری اندر طبعت جوان و نیرومند * دل تو خرم و جان باد مهبط الهام

دل رشید ز آثار فکر روشن تو
بسان طبع تو شادان و خرم و پدرام

TRANSLITERATION

*durūd bād bar ān shā'iri buland maqām*
*ki kishwar-i- sukhan az vay giṛift naẓm u qiwām*
*guzīda'i shu'arā mafkhar-i-adab Tāgūr*
*ki kishwar-i sukhan az vay giṛift naẓδm u qiwām*
*yagāneh mihr-i-durukhshān-i-sharq kaz nūrash*
*zidūdeh gasht jahān-i sukhan az zang-i ẓalām*
*chu āftāb zi-āfāq-i sharq tābān shud*
*wazū giṛift hameh gharb rūshnā'ī wām*

*namānd gūsha'ī andar hameh basīṭ-i-zamīn*
*ki ṣīt-i faẓlash nanihād andar anjā gām*
*zi guftehhāyi dilāvīz u nuktehhāyi laṭīf*
*hamī rasānad jānrā az asmān paighām*
*kunad padid zi lafẓ-i badī' u ma'ni-yi naghz*
*bi khāṭir andar āṣār-i rūḥ dar ajsām*
*ma'ānī andar lafẓash chu 'ālami malakūt*
*ki nīst injā andīsheh az fishār u ziḥām*
*tarānahāyi dil angīz-i u bihar rūzī*
*hazār khāṭir-i ashufteh rā kunad ārām*
*hunarwarī ki az siḥr-i kalām chīreh shudeh asl*
*bi sharq u gharb zamīn bar qulūb u bar afhām*
*zi ra'yi raushan-i ū bahreh mībarad yaksān*
*zidūdeh fikr-i khawāṣ u khamūdeh ṭab'i 'awām*
*ayā khulāṣa'i zauq u kamāl u dānish-i-sharq*
*ki chun tu pūr nazāyad az mādar-i aiyām*
*bihīch jāy chunān qadr-i tu nabishināsand*
*ki dar qalm-rav-i Sa'dī u kishwar-i Khayyām*
*na chun digar shu'arā shi 'rhāyi dilkash-i tu*
*shikayat-i shab-i hijr ast u waṣf-i jām-i-mudām*
*ki har chi gu'i pand ast u ḥikmat u akhlāq*
*az bahr-i ṣulḥ u ṣafa waz bahr-i amn u salām*
*zi dārūyi sukhanat jān-i dardmand-i bashar*
*najāt yābad az āsīb-i mihnat u ālām*
*turā az jā'izeh-hā-yi Nobel ki bigiriftī*
*agar hazār bigīrī hanūz nist tamām*
*niṣār-i shi'r turā shāyad ar sipihr-i buland*
*biyafkanad mah-u kharshīd u zuhra u bahrām*
*bijashn-i haftād az 'umr-i tu bibāyastī*
*ki sū-yi Hind az Irān bibastamī iḥrām*
*chu rāh-i dūr marā zin ṭawāf dārad bāz*
*bidin qaṣīdeh firistam turā durūd u salām*
*bi pīrī andar ṭab'at javān u nirūmand*
*dil-i tu khurram u jān bād mahbiṭ-i ilhām*
*dil-i Rashīd zi āṣār-i fikr-i raushan-i tu*
*basān-i ṭab'-i tu shādān u khurram u pidrām*

TRANSLATION

Greetings be to the Poet of lofty position from whom
pride attains glory and from whom fame gains splendour.
An elite among poets and pride of Poesy is Tagore, for
through him the realm of poetry secured order and stability.
A unique bright Sun of the Orient (is he) from whose effulgence
the universe of poetry got polished of the rust of gloom.
Like unto the Sun he shone bright from the Eastern horizon
and all the West borrowed light from him.

There remains no place on the surface of the earth, whereat
the fame of his grace has not set its foot.
By his charming utterences and his fine rarities, he
brought forth message of peace from heaven for the soul.
By his novel word and rare meanings he manifests
to the hearts the effect of soul in bodies.
The inner meanings of his utterences are like unto the
world of angels wherein there is no fear of sorrow and affliction.
His charming songs each day afford comfort to thousands
of distracted minds.
A prodigy of poesy is he, who through the charms of his
expressions enraptured hearts and senses of men throughout
the East and the West.
From his enlightening views both the polished thoughts of the
distinguished and the dejected temperament of the common are
benefited alike.
May be a son like you, an essence of Art, perfection and wisdom
of the East will not be born of Mother Time.
Your greatness has not so much been realised
in any country as it has been recognised in the
land of *Sa'dı* and *Khayyām*.
Unlike the poetry of others, your charming poetry
does not contain complaint of the night of separation
and the praise of the wine cup.
For, whatsoever you utter your sayings are admonitions,
wisdom and morality for the sake of friendship
and concord and for the sake of peace and amity.
From the panacea of your poesy, the afflicted soul of
man gains salvation from misery of grief and
hardship.
The Nobel prize that you won will not be sufficient
if the same be awarded to you a thousand times.
It would be quite becoming of the high firmament if
it showered the Sun, the Moon, the Venus and
the Mars over your poesy.
It is befitting that from Iran I should travel to India
(in the same way as Muslims procede to Mecca for pilgrimage)
to partake in the celebrations of your seventieth birthday.
As the distance keeps me from paying obeiscence personally,
I am offering you my congratulations and felicitations through
this panegyric.
In your old age you are still young and powerful,
may your heart be mirthful and your mind be
a place of revelation!
May the heart of Rashid, under the influence of your high spirit,
be full of mirth and gaiety like unto your own temperament!

# THE PERSIAN SCENE

*By V. Courtois, S.J.*

## I. Politics.

*Press Delegations.*—The Japanese Idehmitsu Company, now importing oil from Iran, has invited an Iranian press delegation to visit Japan by the company's oil tanker on its return journey with oil from Abadan. Members of the delegation represent Iran's leading newspapers Ettela'at, Keyhan, Teheran Mossavar, Atesh and Poste-e-Teheran. This is the first invitation extended by a foreign company importing the Iranian nationalized oil.

Twenty-six American journalists arrived in Teheran recently by air for a four-day stay in Iran.

*Ambassador to the Vatican.*—H.E. Nasrul Molk Hedayat, the first Iranian Ambassador to the Vatican has left Teheran to fill his post.

*H.I.M. the Shah opens Parliament.*—At Teheran on March 18, the Shah of Iran inaugurated both the Houses of Parliament the Majlis and the Senate.

He urged both Houses and the Government to work in close co-operation to achieve the well-being of Iranian people.

He declared that Iran would maintain friendly relations with all nations based on mutual respect and on the principles of the U.N. charter.

Iranian security forces should be strengthened, and the fullest use should be made of underground and natural resources.

He hoped the oil problem would be solved in accordance with the nationalization law, and endeavours made for ending the country's financial crisis.

*Premier Zahedi's New Cabinet.*—Early in May, the Prime Minister, General Zahedi, was received in audience and presented to His Imperial Majesty the members of his new cabinet:

1. Mr. Ahmed Hosain Adl, Minister of Agriculture.
2. Dr. Seyd Fakhruddin Shadman, Minister of National Defence.
3. Dr. Ali Aminim, Minister of Finance.
4. General Abdollah Hedayat, Minister of National Defence.
5. Dr Jahanshah Saleh, Minister of Health.
6. Mr. Abdollah Entezam, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
7. Mr. Amir Hosain Zafar Bakhtiar, Minister of State.
8. Mr. Jamaluddin Auhavi, Minister of Justice.
9. Dr. Masaud Maleki, Minister of Labour.
10. General Abbas Garzan, Minister of Roads.
11. General Abbas Farzanegan, Minister of Post, Telephones, and Telegraphs.

12. Dr. Reza Jafari, Minister of Education.
13. General Mohammed Hosain Jahanbani, Minister of State.

Prime Minister, General Zahedi, will personally hold the post of Ministry of Interior.

Later the Prime Minister, accompanied by members of his Cabinet attended the open session of the Majlis and presented to the House his new Cabinet.

The Prime Minister of Iran outlined as follows the program of his new Government:—

1. The Foreign policy of my government is based on mutual respect and friendship with all neighbouring countries and free nations of the world and on following in the footsteps of the United Nations Charter and strengthening of this world organizations.

2. Making attempts to strengthen and stimulate the principles of social justice throughout the country.

3. Maintenance of peace and security within the country and putting an end to the spirit of anarchism.

4. Strengthening of defence forces to the extent that the country's security could be maintained.

5. Revision of Tax Laws and improvement of financial situation which could ensure a balanced budget.

6. Improvement of the country's economy and encouragement of productive activities by using the oil revenues.

7. Improvement of the judicial system of the country.

8. Development of the country's communications.

9. Development and improvement of the country's roads and completion of railways.

10. Attempts to create better understanding between the worker and employer and construction of low-cost houses for the Government servants and poor sections of the people.

11. Development of the country's agriculture and irrigation system and attempts to improve the living conditions of the peasants.

12. Improvement of the country's education system and implementation of professional training centres and improvement of living conditions of teachers and construction of houses for them.

13. Centralization of health services under the supervision of the Ministry of Health and introduction of a comprehensive scheme whereby health facilities could be provided for the people throughout the country.

14. Protection and encouragement of indigenous industries.

In conclusion the Prime Minister pointed out that the programe of his

Government was not limited only to the above lines and he would present to the Majlis more development projects in due time.

*Baluchistan and Iran.*—A series of documentary articles appearing recently in Iran's leading journal, the weekly *Etelaat*, calls for the immediate return of Baluchistan—now part of Pakistan, to Iran. The argument put forward is that Baluchistan was forcibly detached from Iran by the British.

Mr. Abdul Hossein Mefth, Under-Secretary to the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who served in Quetta for a number of years, is a champion of Iran's territorial claims against Pakistan and others.

*The Council of National Guidance.*—The newly set up Council of National Guidance has formed several sub-committees with the declared object of "enlisting the services of the best brains in the country in different branches." The Council is making preparations, in conjunction with the Department of Propaganda and Publication, to launch a extensive campaign against the Tudeh Party, whose propaganda machine has hitherto found a comparatively free and undisputed field in Iran.

## II. Economics.

*Iran's Bank Notes.*—Last March a British firm entered on a £400,000 contract for printing bank notes for the Iranian National Bank it was learned on March 16.

The firm which has obtained the bank note contract from the Bank Meli Iran is Bradbury, Wilkinson and Company, a leading group of bank note and security engravers and printers. They have printed past bank note issues for Iran but failed to obtain orders during the oil dispute between Britain and Iran.

The British Government ceased underwriting private trading with Iran in September 1951 at the height of the crisis caused by the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's holdings.

*Village Aid Programme.*—The Government has appointed a ten-man committee consisting of high ranking officials of the Ministry of Interior to visit rural areas throughout the country for an on-the-spot study of rural development schemes now under way in pursuance of village aid programme sponsored by the Government.

*Establishment of Insurance Company.*—On the recommendation of the Ministry of National Economy the cabinet approved the plan for the establishment of Pars Insurance Company owned by a number of private firms.

*Iran-America Joint Commission Meets.*—The Iran-America Joint Commission met in the beginning of May at the Head-quarters of the Seven-Year Plan Organization. The meeting was attended by the Minister of Agriculture Adl. the Minister of Health Saleh, Point Four Director William Warne, Plan Organization Managing Director Panahi, the Minister of State for Interior General Jahanbani and other members of the commission.

The meeting discussed and approved several project agreements such as the project for completion of a new laboratory at the Razi Institute at an estimated cost of 20,000,000 Rials ; the establishment of a new public health centre in Shiraz at a total cost of 5,500,000 Rials ; the establishment of a nursing school in Meshed at an estimated cost of 12,000,000 Rials.

A joint fund to finance technical and economic development projects will also be set up by the commission.

*Finance Minister on Oil Issue.*—Dr. Ali Amini Minister of Finance and Chairman of the Supreme Oil Council made the following statement about the oil dispute last April.

"Some commentaries and remarks do come out these days in the press about the oil dispute and the question of the future profits. To make the things clear to the nation, I consider it necessary to state on behalf of the Government that as already emphasised by the Prime Minister both in the course of his press and broadcast statements the Government is determined to secure a just settlement of the oil dispute in consonance with the nationalization law and self-respect of the Iranian nation. This viewpoint of Iran has been stressed by the government all along in informal talks which have taken place so far. Needless to say that no mention, whatsoever, has ever been made by the Government about the question of the future profits which can be indicant of accepting this question, by the government of Iran. Any remarks that might have been made in this connection by certain persons cannot be binding on the Iranian Government. It should be borne in mind that it is the Government and parliament who can deal with such fundamental and significant problems and any remarks made by irresponsible persons about the same will not only have no validity, but also prove detrimental to the country's interests. No credence should, therefore, be given to such remarks from irresponsible quarters."

*The Oil Talks.*—The third meeting of Oil Conference was held at the White Palace in the beginning of April. The two delegations of Iran and Consortium attended the meeting.

Dr. Amini, Minister of Finance and Leader of Iranian delegation also disclosed that the compensation committee comprising representatives of Iran, the British Government and ex-AIOC will also meet to consider the question of compensation, Ambassador Stevens, Mr. Beckt, British Minister of State for Fuel and Sir Pol, Head of the Middle Eastern Section of the British Treasury will represent the British Government in the compensation committee while Mr. Denis Wright and Mr. Snow will represent the ex-AIOC The committee has to determine the amount of compensation which will be paid by the Consortium on behalf of the Iranian Government.

Both sides have prepared documents and proofs about their claims from each other. The ex-AIOC is understood to have prepared facts and figures about the compensation which amounts to about 500 million dollars.

Iran also has prepared undeniable facts and figures about her claims from ex-AIOC.

As regards the question of foreign experts needed for Iranian oil industry an informed source said that no major differences exist between Iran and the Consortium about the same and the eight member companies will send to Abadan their experts in proportion to their respective shares in the Consortium.

The main issue which has to be settled between Iran and the Consortium related to the management of oil installations. At present differences do exist between Iran and the Consortium about the appointment of an oil administrator. According to Iranian 9-point Nationalization Law the post under question should be held by an Iranian. The Consortium maintains that at present Iran lacks such personality as may be able to act as the oil administrator.

A member of Iranian delegation said that Iran would insist on the training of Iranian technicians who should replace foreign experts in due time.

It has been announced officially that Mr. Turkid Rieber, of the Texas Oil Company, who visited Iran two years ago, has been invited by the Iranian Government to act as oil consultant during the negotiations that will open when Sir Roger Stevens, British Ambassador to Iran, arrived in Teheran.

In the meantime the Oil Commission, set up by Premier Zahedi and composed of the Ministers of National Economy, Finance and Foreign Affairs as well as the Iranian business magnate, Haji Mohammad Nemazee, has been meeting regularly and is expected to submit a report soon to the Prime Minister. This Commission, which has studied the oil question in its international perspective, will make a series of broad recommendations definitely including the sale of oil to an international consortium incorporating major British, American and possibly French and Dutch companies. Concerns possessing fleets of tankers will be given priority by Iran. The compensation issue, a stumbling block in past negotiations, is to be disposed off in a "package deal" which will be worked out, and naturally payment of compensation will depend on Iran's ability to pay, i.e., through the sale of Iranian oil.

*Land Distribution.*—Addressing a press conference, the governor of the Construction Bank gave the following information:

Up to now over a million square meters of land have been distributed among displaced persons. This includes 6 million meters in Narmak and 2 million in Nazi Abad districts ; the distributed lands have been divided in different tracts ranging from 200 to 500 square meters. About 44,000 people will be settled in the lands already distributed.

About 2,000 houses will be constructed during the current year and at present over 2,000 workers are working in Narmak and Nazi Abad where

constructions of houses is under way. Besides, 100 houses granted by His Imperial Majesty will be distributed to government servants.

*Taking over of oil Installations.*—The Iranian and Soviet representatives met to discuss preliminary arrangements for taking over by Iran of oil fields and installations belonging to Soviet Petrol Company in Iran. The Soviet Petrol Company had established a number of oil installations in northern Iran for the sale of their oil productions in the country. After the nationalization of oil industry in Iran the installations were closed. The Iranian representatives are expected to proceed to Bandar Pahlavi next week to take over the installations from the Soviet authorities.

*Oil Deadlock.*—About 20 deputies of the Majlis were received in audience by the Shah in course of which the oil deadlock was discussed in detail. The past three years oil developments were reviewed during the audienc and Dr. Mossadeq's misconduct which resulted in the oil deadlock was deplored.

The Shah was told by the deputies that the Consortium representatives have pointed out to Iranian officials that Western countries were no longer in need of Iranian oil as they had already launched a number of increased oil production schemes in other oil producing countries. The West only wants to improve Iran's Economic situation by the oil settlement and to save this country from the communist danger, they have further pointed out.

The speculations of world circles that the Iranian oil issue will soon be settled has now been set at rest by the outcome of recent oil negotiations in Iran. At present the world circles are not as optimistic about the oil settlements as they were a month ago. Iran has to forget about oil and adopt an oil-less economic policy.

## III. Cultural Relations

*Iranian Ambassador on Indo-Iranian Relations.*—In an exclusive interview given on the 6th of March to the reporter of Keyhan, notable Persian Daily of Teheran, regarding his return to Iran from India, His Excellency Mr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, Ambassador of Iran in India, made the following statement: "I have come to Iran from India in order to be able to take part in the Millenary Celebrations of Abu Ali Sina, commencing from the 21st April 1954, having been commanded to do so by His Imperial Majesty the Sahanshah of Iran and my Government. I propose to return to India after these celebrations shall have taken place."

When asked about the diplomatic relations existing between Iran and India, the Ambassador said: "Fortunately the diplomatic relations of the great country of India with Iran rest on a very firm and secure basis, which has little to fear from any shaking or darkening whatever. No difference of fundamental nature exists there.

This is certainly due to the very long precedence of the cultural relations between the two countries, "dating back to several thousand years past. People of India have profound respect, mixed with a sense of love,

for the Shahanshah, the Government and the people of Iran and there exist abundant good wishes in all circles in India for Iran's prosperity and progress. Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in particular, has taken upon himself the pursuance of a policy which looks with reverence on all Asian Government, and therefore he has great liking and attachment for Iran."

Regarding the economic relations of India and Iran the Ambassador said: "It is a matter of regret that the economic relations between Iran, and India are rather dull and do not merit much description. It would therefore be worth while if the authorities concerned in both the countries accorded special attention to this matter. Trade relations between Iran and India have had a brilliant past. Unfortunately the Iranian businessmen in India have now been subjected to strict trade regulations and formalities. To my mind it is of singular consequence that appropriate authorities in Iran and India signed, as early as possible, beneficial trade pacts and agreements, providing impetus to the investment of capitals by the traders of the two countries in each other's land, and reviving thereby the age old business relations between the two countries."

Referring to the Cultural relations between Iran and India His Excellency remarked: "A great attachment exists among the Indian scholars for Persian literature. Almost in every University in India there exists a chair for Persian. Exchange of students between Iranian and Indian Universities is taking place, too. But all this is not sufficient. There should be increasing exchanges of students, teachers, scholars and Press Delegations between the two countries. In view of the deep love evinced by the Indian scholars for modern Persian publications, facilities must be provided for an easy and unhindered flow of books. "Knowledge" must not be taxed, and subjected to rigid tariff regulations. In this way alone millions in India would be able to benefit from the precious Persian works."

*Precious Gift.*—At the behest of Shri Rama Krishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad and the efforts of Dr. M. Nizammuddin of the Osmania University the Dairatul Moaarif of Hyderabad have recently sent, through the Iran Embassy in India a complimentary copy of all its Arabic and Persian published works, to the Avicenna Library, at Hamadan, Iran.

*Avicenna Millenary Celebrations.*—Last April, scientists from many countries celebrated the 1,000th anniversary of the death of the scientist Avicenna at Hamadan, 200 miles south-west of Teheran.

The highlight of the celebrations was the dedication, by the Shah of Iran of a new memorial to Avicenna.

The memorial consists of a new tomb built over Avicenna's original tomb, a small stone sarcophagus covered with Arabic script telling the story of Avicenna's life and works.

The new tomb and the grounds in which it stands cover 3,000 square metres, and include a garden, a library and a 90-foot tower of royal black

marble and cement. Ten pillars of black marble, each representing one century since Avicenna's death, stand outside the new tomb.

The memorial is reported to have cost Rs. 1,040,000.

Copies of Avicenna's books will be put on show in the library adjoining his new tomb.

Guests at the dedication ceremony on April 29, the date on which Avicenna died 1,000 years ago, received medals bearing his likeness on one side and a picture of the tomb on the other.

*Indian Scholars in Teheran.*—The following Indian scholars attended the celebrations held in connection with the Avicenna Congress in Iran:

1. Mr. K. Fitter, Secretary Iran League, Bombay.
2. Professor Shah Mardan, Bombay.
3. Dr. Jamshid Unwala, Bombay.
4. Mr. Firouz Wacha, an Advocate of Bombay.
5. Professor Ivanof.
6. Dr. M. Nizammuddin, Head of the Persian Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad.

*Prime Minister of India's Greetings.*—On the occasion of the Millenary Celebrations of Abu Ali Sina the great Iranian Philosopher, Mr. Nehru sent the following message to Iran:

"I send my greetings on the occasion of the Millenary Celebrations of Abu Ali Sina in Iran. Among the great philosophers of the past, Abu Ali Sina, or Avicenna as some people have called him in Europe, stands pre-eminent, and it is right that we should honour the memory of this great man." [New Delhi, April 10, 1954. Sd/- JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU.]

*Lecture on Avicenna.*—Prior to his departure to Iran, H. E. Mr. Ali Asghar Hekmat addressed a select literary gathering, on Avicenna, in the compound of Delhi College of Delhi.

*Gift of Books.*—Recent publications of Teheran University were presented by the Iranian Embassy in India to the Delhi University and Delhi College, Delhi.

*A Doctorate for the Iranian Ambassador.*—The University of Delhi has decided to confer a Degree of Doctor of Literature, Honoris Causa, on His Excellency Mr. A. A. Hekmat in its forthcoming Convocation, sometime in November, 1954, in recognition of His Excellency's vast erudition and scholarship, and deep love for Indian Culture.

*New Cultural Attache.*—Mr. S. M. Tabatabai, Cultural Counsellor of the Embassy has been transferred to Bagdad, where he has been posted as Iran's Cultural Counsellor to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. Mr. Mohit Tabatabai is expected to take charge of the Cultural Affairs at the Iranian Embassy, New Delhi.

# BOOK REVIEWS

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS, pp. 45.—Dr. B. C. Law. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1954.

The title of this work scarcely gives an idea of its interest and importance. Dr. Law has gone through the works of Kālidāsa, and has thus brought out another aspect of the still hidden treasures of Indian literature and culture.

He treats first of the cities, countries, and holy places, then of the rivers and lakes, and finally of the mountains and forests, so that we get a series of pictures with many historical details, painted for us by one of India's greatest literary artists. There is no doubt, as Dr. Law says, that all this will help us greatly in reconstructing our ancient historical geography.

Western scholars have done their best, but we need to get free from seeing things from their point of view. They divided up the land into kingdoms and countries, and they thought that Magadha was the name of a country. We can speak of Magadhadeśa, but there is no Magadha except as the name of an individual, a Magadha who dwelt there. Dr. Law seems to have recognised this when he wrote the monograph, *The Magadhas in Ancient India*. This is only one of the points on which Indians ought to think as Indians, and Dr. Law has given them much to think about, and problems to discuss, with some new solutions, and certainly with a heightened sense of the greatness of Kālidāsa.

E. J. THOMAS.

DARA SHIKUH—Life and Works—By Dr. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, M.A., Ph.D., Published by Visvabharati Publishing Deptt. 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta-7. Pages XXIV + 304. Price Rs. 12/- (1953).

Dara Shikuh—a name to conjure with in the fields of politics and comparative study of Religions, required an elaborate treatment by some scholar holding sympathetic views and this need has been admirably fulfilled by the present work. Dara Shikuh was deliberately ignored by the contemporary historians on account of his catholic views which were not palatable to the orthodox sections. Political intrigues were woven round him so as to get rid of him and posterity cherishes his memory reverentially for the foundations he laid for secularising society as is correctly assessed in the words of the Cultural Heritage of India (Vol. II. p. 259) "Indian tradition remembers Dara Shikuh not so much as an emperor's son, but as a mystic philosopher. The great dream of his life—a dream shattered by his untimely death—was the brotherhood of all faiths and the unity of mankind. After him the vision of unity was lost in the atmosphere of hatred and rivalry created by the warring sects and religious schools and even today we are living in the age of religious disintegration."

Materials for the life and works of Dara Shikuh being so scanty, Dr. Hasrat has based his findings on the internal evidence available from Dara's writings, which have luckily been preserved in world's famous libraries. In this attempt Dr. Hasrat has tapped the original sources so efficiently that after a study of the work, one feels that a large gap of history has been filled. Scholars dealing with the political history of Dara have preferred occasionally such preposterous conclusions from some stray references in the contemporary histories which go to paint Dara in the blackest of colours. His bent towards saints, pirs, and mystics of Muslim, Christian and Hindu communities has been misconstrued to be an effort on his part "to become a more popular monarch to both the Hindus and the Musalmans,

That certainly was the case with Akbar, who made an attempt to weld into a political synthesis the divergent creeds and different racial elements of India. Dara Shikuh's approach towards Hinduism was from a different point of view. It was the approach of a seeker of Truth, in whose heart was a burning passion for knowledge, and who irrespective of the basis of its source eagerly sought it wherever he could find it.' He had many opportunities of meeting savants of diverse religions and had heard their views on the unity of God as he himself declares in his *Sirr-i-Akbar*, the Persian translation of the Upanishads:

> "And whereas, I was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostic divines of every sect and to hear their lofty expressions of monotheism and have cast my eyes upon many theological books and had been a follower thereof for many years; my passion for beholding the Unity, which is a boundless ocean, increased every moment. Subtle doubts arose into my mind for which I had no possibility of solution. And whereas the Holy Quran is almost totally allegorical and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, I become desirous of collecting into view all the revealed books, as the very word of God itself might be its own commentary and if in one book it be compendious, in another it might be found diffusive. And as this unsolicitous seeker after the Truth had in view the principle of the fundamental unity of the Personality and not Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit languages, he wanted to make an exact and correct translation of the "*Upanekhet* into Persian; for it is a treasure of monotheism."

Being actuated by a desire to establish a fudamental similarity between the Islamic and Hindu doctrines on the unity of God, he was conscious of the narrow sectarianism of the orthodox school. He treats them with contemptuous disregard.

Politics had a secondary place in the thoughts of Dara Shikuh: his first concern being the study of religious mysticism. Chronologically his works as enumerated below signify that his earlier studies were purely Sufistic which later on encompassed a study of the mystics and mysticism of other faiths also.

1. Safinat-ul-Awliya (1049 A.H.)
2. Sakinat-ul-Awliya (1052 A.H.)
3. Risala-i-Haq Numa (1056 A.H.)
4. Tariqat-ul-Haqiqat
5. Hasanat-ul-Arifin (1062 A.H.)
6. Iksir-i-Azam (Diwan-i-Dara Shikuh)
7. Majma'-ul-Bahrain (1065 A.H.)
8. Mukalama-i-Baba Lal wa Dara Shikuh (1062 A.H.)
9. Yoga Vasista written at his instance (1066 A.H.)
10. Sirr-i-Akbar (1067 A.H.)
11. Bhagawat Gita (1067 A.H.)

Dr. Hasrat has treated Dara more as a writer than as a political figure. It is this treatment which was most direly needed in the context of free India today. He has marshalled the internal evidence so efficiently that hitherto conjectured episodes of Dara's life have been confirmed to be authoritative accounts. Each literary work of the Prince has been subjected to such an intensive study and sifting enquiry that Dara, the man, has come out transparent from it.

This book of Dr. Hasrat which has taken about 17 years of his life to the study of Dara, is a high water-mark so far as historical data is concerned and unique in the treatment of a great writer. Gradual cultivation of Dara's interest in metaphysics is evident from his treatises and it is therefore that Dr. Hasrat has undertaken a study of his works chronologically. It is a matter of gratification that he has edited some of Dara's writings also *e.g. Sakinatul-Awliya* in one volume and *Sirr-i-Akbar* in 4 volumes and shortly the same will be published to enrich the religious literature of the world. The publishing of *Sirr-i-Akbar* will be a great stride in

Upanishadic literature as hitherto this book has not been printed owing to certain orthodox views held against it by Muslim scholars. I know that Mian Channan Din Fazal Din, Allah Wale ki Qaumi Dukan, a publishing-firm of Lahore once dared to print it, but being threatened by some Maulvies, they destroyed the lithographed formats. This was narrated to me by the proprietor of the firm in 1937. It is an anomaly that the Western countries were first introduced to the Upanishads through the Persian translation of Dara Shikuh, but the same could not be published here in India though there existed quite a number of them in manuscript form. From the few quotations from Persian Upanishads that appear in this book, the language appears to be much closer to the one, then in vogue in Persia than the Persian current in India in that time. This was probably due to the fact that Dara Shikuh undertook to translate Upanishads after his unsuccessful expedition of Qandahar, where he touched the fringes of Persia and came in contact with people, whose everyday language was Persian.

Dara Shikuh as a poet offers a pleasant reading of the poetry of mysticism which entitles him to a place in the front rank of mystic poets though his output is occasional and small. A comprehensive view of Dara Shikuh can be had from the book under review which is in many ways an improvement on the earlier dissertation on the subject. Bengal seems to have been specially kind to Dara in focussing world attention on the achievements of this ill-fated Prince; as in 1929, Mr. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq of the Presidency College edited Dara's Majma'-ul-Bahrain with copious notes, introduction and translation into English published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal followed by an exhaustive monograph on Dara Shikuh by Dr. K. R. Qanungo in 1935.

Now with the appearance of this book a great deficiency has been condoned as the treatment of the subject in this book is so absorbing that the reader feels tempted to go to the original writings of the Prince, which have proved a veritable source of inspiration to the author. It is indispensable for students of Persian and Medieval Indian History.

Printing and get-up of the book to say the least, are excellent, and Visvabharati has maintained its tradition in this venture also for which it deserves congratulations.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA

SUFISM and VEDANTA—By Dr. Roma Chaudhari, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), F.R.A.S.B. Published by Pracyavani Mandir, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Vol. I, Pages 40. Price Re. 1/- Vol. II, Pages 114, Price Rs. 7/-.

The above two parts of the book go to form a comparative study of Sufism and Vedanta. In part one, derivation and definition of the term Sufi, short history of Sufism, Summary of the main tenets of Sufism, God—His nature, attributes, actions and names; problems of creation, cosmology, nature of the universe, psychology, determinism and free will, the perfect Man, saints and prophets, doctrine of incarnation, relation between God and the universe, doctrine of salvation, the path, theory of grace, Sufi mysticism and orthodox objections to Sufism are dealt with and in part two detailed treatment of some prominent Sufis and their doctrines is undertaken in such a way that even a layman can have a good grasp of the subject. The Books are written quite lucidly to bring the adherents of the two systems of philosophy closer to each other. In part two Rabia, Dhu'l Nun al-Misri, Abu Yazid or Bayazid al-Bistami, Al-Hallaj Mansur, Kalabadhi, Data Ganj Baksh Al-Hujwiri, Ibnul Arabi, Nasafi, Mahmud Shabistri, Faridud-Din Attar, Jalalud-Din Rumi, Saadi, Jili and Jami have been discussed. The attempt is admirable and is sure to encourage the study of Sufism in India. No student of Sufism or Vedanta can afford to be without these two booklets. It would have been better if original verses in Arabic or Persians would also has been given along with their translations in English. Pracyavani Mandir deserves to be congratulated for this publication.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA

صفی علی شاه کتاب عرفان الحق را در بحر الحقایق چنین توصیف کرده است[۱] :

بدستت ور که عرفان الحق آید بدل ابواب توحیدت گشاید

و در تفسیر قرآن درباره این کتاب چنین گفته[۲] :

ور که عرفان الحقت افتد بدست تا ابد بی‌باده مخموری و مست

نمونه نثر کتاب عرفان الحق[۳] :

”شقیق بلخی را مریدی بود عزم حج کرد و باشارهٔ شقیق بزیارت بایزید به بسطام رفت سلطان از او پرسید شقیق در چه حال است گفت بتوکل نشسته و گوید اگر نه چیزی از زمین بروید و نه آسمان ببارد و تمام خلق را من کفیل باشم نقصی بتوکلم نرسد فرمود اگر من مرغی شوم از بالای شهری که چنین مشیرکی در اوست پرواز نکنم مرید شقیق را از این حال خبر کرد او باز فرستاد که چنینم تو چگونه - فرمود بایزید نه چنین است نه چنان نه وصف دارد نه نشان، صفاتش در صفات حق فانیست و موصوف به هیچ وصفی نیست، در این مقام نه از توکل اثریست نه از متوکل خبری،، *

عرفال الحق از نظر تصوف بطور کلی کتابی جالب و سودمند و قابل استفاده است *

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(۱) بحر الحقایق ص ۳ چاپ تهران ۱۳۰۲ قری ٭

(۲) تفسیر منظوم صفی ص ۲۶۹ چاپ دوم تهران ۱۳۱۷ ٭

(۳) عرفان الحق ص ۱۴۹ چاپ تهران ۱۲۹۲ ٭

در موقع بحث از یک موضوع صوفیانه گاه از مطالب دیگر نیز شرحی بیان داشته مثلاً در آنجا که از طریقت صحبت میکند یکباره از اشتقاق کلمه تصوف نیز گفتگو مینماید و کیفیت صوفی را شرح میدهد یا مثلاً در آنجا که صبر را توضیح داده، مراتب عالم هفتگانه را ذکر مینماید یا مثلاً در آنجا که بحث راجع به سیر کرده ذکر حجاب بمیان آورده و اقسام آنرا شرح داده است یا مثلاً در بیان شرایط پیر مرشد فرق بین کامل و غیر کامل را نشان داده و دوازده[1] خصوصیت صوفیانه را بشرح آورده است یا مثلاً در موضوع تسلیم راجع بعبودیت صوفی ـ راجع به تقوی صوفی ـ توکل صوفی ـ یقین صوفی ـ خوف صوفی ـ رجاء صوفی ـ صبر صوفی ـ شکر صوفی ـ رضای صوفی ـ حیای صوفی ـ صدق صوفی ـ اخلاص صوفی ـ حلم صوفی ـ ادب صوفی ـ قناعت صوفی ـ فقر صوفی ـ عافیت صوفی ـ سخای صوفی ـ صفای صوفی ـ همت صوفی ـ بلای صوفی ـ خرقه صوفی ـ استغنای صوفی ـ طمأنینهٔ صوفی ـ اعتصام صوفی ـ استقامت صوفی ـ شوق صوفی ـ انس صوفی ـ معرفت صوفی ـ مشاهده صوفی ـ قرب صوفی ـ ذکر صوفی ـ وجد صوفی ـ ولایت صوفی ـ شکر صوفی ـ صحو صوفی ـ محو صوفی ـ خلسه صوفی ـ جذبه صوفی ـ وقت صوفی ـ سیر صوفی ـ حال صوفی ـ روح صوفی ـ شراب صوفی ـ تفرید صوفی ـ توحید صوفی ـ وحدت صوفی ـ حیرت صوفی ـ علم صوفی ـ تحقیق صوفی ـ فراست صوفی ـ نفس صوفی ـ حظ صوفی ـ مراقبه صوفی ـ تجرید صوفی ـ همّ صوفی ـ سرّ صوفی ـ کفر صوفی ـ و راجع به ایمان صوفی توضیحاتی داده است *

در آخر کتاب نیز تقریباً صد رباعی صوفیانه آورده که تقریباً اغلب آنها چندان چنگی بدل نمیزنند *

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(۱) آنها مرادف اند از : (۱) صحت (۲) علم (۳) عمل بمعتقدات (۴) صحت اعتقاد در مبدء معاد (۵) تقوی (۶) زهد (۷) صدق (۸) علوّ همت (۹) گذشت (۱۰) سخاوت و کرم (۱۱) قوی دل (۱۲) ستاری ٭

دربارهٔ صوفی و تصوف در این کتاب، مفید چنین آمده[1] :

"......... و فقیر برآنم که صوفی ماخوذ از صفی است و اسرار وجود آدم در صوفی ثابت قدم صافی دم مختفی، و سلسلهٔ تصوف بلا تعطیل و توقف بآدم صفی متصل شود حق تعالی آدم را بلطیفهٔ تصوف ملقب بصفی الله نمود ......... اسرار وجود که حق تعالی در آدم ودیعه گذاشت غیر از تصوف نیست و هر کس، بتمام اوصاف آدمیت متصف شد صوفی است و قبل از ظهور ختمی مآب ص • بعضی از نفوس زکیه بآداب و رویهٔ تصوف بودند امّا شیوع کامل نداشت و چون خرقه فقر بسیّد ما رسید چیزی از کمال تصوف مخفی نگذاشت علی بن ابی طالب علیه السلام که خیاط ازل این جامه را بقامت او دوخت و هر صوفی کامل اسرار تصوف را کماهی از او آموخت این گوهر گرانبها را از مخزن اسرار تماماً برآورد و نظر بجودی که جبلی او بود در بازار کائنات نمودار کرد تا هرکس بقدر طاقت خود بهره تواند برد،، *

و گاهی اشعاری از مثنوی مولوی آمده است و گاه بطریق تحقیق و توضیح و تمهید سخن رفته و گاه نیز با ارشاد ـ تنبیه، نصیحت، مثال، لطیفه و حکمت بیان مقصود گردیده است ـ و موضوعاتیکه در این کتاب مورد بحث قرار گرفته عبارت است از:

(۱) علم واجب تعالی (۲) قدرت (۳) شریعت (۴) طریقت: تصوف (۵) معرفت (۶) مجاهده: فکر (۷) مراقبه (۸) محاسبه (۹) فی الشکر (۱۰) صبر: درجات صبر: اقسام صبر (۱۱) سیر سلوک: تواضع: ادب (۱۲) شرایط پیر و مرشد (۱۳) بیان خرقه (۱۴) بیان نبوت و ولایت (۱۵) قناعت (۱۶) تسلیم (۱۷) بیان علت ردّ صوفیه از مصدر معصوم علیه السلام (۱۸) در بیان وحدت وجود (۱۹) در بیان مراتب وجود و معرفت نفس *

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(۱) عرفان الحق ص ۱۵ چاپ تهران ۱۲۹۷ •

و بجای دیگر مینویسد[1] :

''ذوالنون مصری گوید در سفری به بیابان بی‌آب و گیاهی رسیدم مانده و تشنه شدم از دور باغ و عمارتی دیدم خود را بآن غ بارسانیدم بتفحص شتافتم احدیرا در آنجا نیافتم آب خوردم طهارت کردم متعجب بودم ناگاه ببام قصر نظر نمودم کنیزکی را باکمال صباحت دیدم که بمن مینگریست - گفتم ای کنیزک تو کیستی و این قصر از کیست - گفت ای ذوالنون چون تو را از دور دیدم گفتم مگر دیوانهٔ زیراکه رفتارت بمجانین می‌نمود و چون آمدی و طهارت کردی گفتم مگر عالمی چون استغفار کردی گفتم عارفی و حال می‌بینم هیچکدام نیستی از آنکه دیوانه طهارت را نشاید عالم بنامحرم نظر ننماید عارف بجز حق در نظرش چیزی نیاید،، *

یا مثلاً در بیان سیر سلوک حکایتی دارد[2] که :

''یکی از مشایخ مریدی را امر بهیزم کشی کرده بود - روزی آن مرید پشتهٔ هیزمی بخانقاه آورد شیخ در خواب بود امّا بیدار - اصحاب آن مرید هیزم را بسختی از شانه انداخت شیخ از حجرهٔ بیرون تاخت و فرمود ای بی‌ادب اظهار خدمت کردی - این هیزم را ببر که برای خدا نیاوردی - این هیزم طبخ هوا را سزد و آتش اهل فنا را نپزد برو که هنوز خامی وقتی بیا که ندانی کدامی فقیران دست و پا را بجای هیزم در اوجاق پیران نهند و از شوق دست و پا را از هیزم تمیز ندهند - حاصل اینکه ارباب خلوص خدمت را بجائی رسانند که اخلاص را هم ندانند،، *

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(۱) عرفان الحق ص ۲۸ - ۲۹ چاپ تهران ۱۲۹۷ ه

(۲) عرفان الحق ص ۷۱ چاپ تهران ۱۲۹۷ ه

تألیفات صفی علیشاه از نظم و نثر بدین قرار است :—

الف : منثور

۱ — عرفان الحق

۲ — میزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه

۳ — اسرار المعارف

ب : منظوم

۱ — دیوان قصاید و غزلیات

۲ — مثنوی زبدة الاسرار

۳ — مثنوی بحر الحقایق

۴ — آیة العشاق

۵ — تفسیر قرآن

الف (۱) : عرفان الحق

کتابی است درباره تصوف که بسال ۱۲۹۲ در زمان سلطنت ناصر الدین شاه قاجار تدوین یافته و بچاپ رسیده - در این کتاب صفی علیشاه کلمات عربی بحد افراط بکار برده و حتی اصطلاحات صوفیانه نیز تقریباً همه از عربی عاریت شده است - سبک کتاب با آنکه آسان و ساده است ولی گاه گاه کلمات ثقیل عربی هم در آن استعمال شده است - در این کتاب حکایاتی صوفیانه راجع بصوفیای قدیم اسلام چون شبلی، جنید، ذو النون مصری، ابراهیم ادهم، بایزید بسطامی، شقیق بلخی - ابو منصور حلاج و ابو الحسن خرقانی آورده شده است - مثلاً در بیان طریقت میگوید[1] :

,,ابراهیم ادهم گفت چشم از سلطنت بلخ دوختم و آنرا بسلطنت فقر فروختم - درویشی باو گفت مگر تو هنوز سلطنت بلخ بیادت هست که وقتی پادشاه بودهٔ - دم از درویشی مزن که هنوز ترک هستی ننمودهٔ،، *

(۱) عرفان الحق ص ۱۱ چاپ تهران ۱۲۹۷ ه

# تألیفات صفی علیشاه

نگارش آقای عطا کریم برق دانشیار زبان فارسی در دانشگاه کلکته و عضو افتخاری انجمن ادبی فرهنگستان ایران

## اسم و نسب صفی علیشاه

اسم میرزا حسن - لقب صفی‌علیشاه - وی در تاریخ ۳ - شعبان ۱۲۵۱ هجری در اصفهان قدم بعرصهٔ وجود گذاشت و پس از زندگانی ۶۵ ساله در ۲۴ ذیقعده ۱۳۱۶ در تهران چشم از جهان فرو بست *

پدرش محمد باقر اصفهانی بود که وی نیز لقب صفی داشت - شغل او تجارت بود و یکبار که برای این امر از اصفهان بیزد مسافرت نمود در آنجا رحل اقامت افکند - در آن ایام صفی علیشاه خردسال و مشغول تحصیل بود و بنا بگفتهٔ خودش مدت بیست سال (۲۰) در یزد توقف نمود و بعد از آن در سال ۱۲۸۰[1] از راه هند برای زیارت بیت الله عزیمت و در مراجعت در هندوستان توقف نمود از عرفا و مشایخ آنجا ملاقات و استفاده کرد و سپس بتألیف و تصنیف کتاب ’’زبدة الاسرار،، که بنا بدستور استاد و مرشد خود رحمت علی شاه در کرمان شروع کرده بود پرداخت و آنرا در آنجا بانجام رسانیده در صدد چاپ برآمد و بکمک یکی از ارادتمندان خودش که اهل بمبی بود در آنجا بچاپ رسانید - بعداً از راه کربلا بدار الخلافه تهران آمد و در آنجا چندی زندگانی کرد ولی بعلت نزاع قطبیت مابین مشایخ سلسلهٔ رحمت علی باز بدکن (حیدرآباد) رفت و خواست که باقی عمر عزیز خود را در آنجا بگذراند ولی باین نیت توفیق نیافت و پس از چندی به تهران برگشت و بکار تألیف و تصنیف و ارشاد پرداخت و آن جای بود تا بدیار باقی شتافت *

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(۱) در مقدمه ناشر تفسیر صفی ص ۱ چاپ دوم تهران ۱۳۱۸ مرقوم است که صفی علیشاه ،، در حدود سنهٔ ۱۲۸۱ یا ۱۲۸۲ هجری از یزد بعزم رفتن مکهٔ معظمه از راه هندوستان عزیمت می‌نماید،، چه جائیکه صفی علیشاه در شرح حال خودش نوشته است : « در سنهٔ یکهزار و دویست و هشتاد (۱۲۸۰) از راه هند بزیارت بیت الله مصمم شدم » ملاحظه کنید دیوان قصاید و غزلیات صفی ص ۹ چاپ تهران ۱۳۱۶ ه

(معما) VII (M)

تا رهِ شرع را شتافته‌ام از محمّد نبی شگافته‌ام

VIII (MG)

او نور کند قسمت من بنگ کنم قسمت
او قاسمِ انوار است من قاسمِ اسرارم

IX (NA)

تا ز مستی چاک کردی در گلستان پیرهن
غنچه را چاکِ گریبان تا بدامان یافتم

X (MG)

واعظا چند قصّهٔ دوزخ خلق را بیش ازین عذاب مکن

XI (U)

هر لالهٔ که سر بدر آرد ز خاکِ من باشد نشانه از جگرِ چاکِ چاکِ من

XII (U)

دو زانوی و پای آن یگانه موئی گرهیش(۱) درمیانه

(معمّا) XIII (M)

نیست از هستیش کسی آگه ابداً کان لا نهایة له

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(۱) کذا فی الاصل.

# مفردات[1]

## I (K)

نه عینک است که بر دیده دارم از پیری
برای خطِ جوانان دو چشمِ من چار است

## II (N)

خال هرچند که بر گوشهٔ چشمِ تو نکوست
مردم از غم که چرا گوشهٔ چشمِ تو به اوست

## III (Y)

اشکِ من طالب آن نرگسِ جادُو باشد
همچو طفلی که دوان در پیِ آهو باشد

## IV[2]

رنگِ رخ زردم چو ز آئینه عیان شد
در دستِ من آن آینه چون برگِ خزان شد

## V (U; MG)

گل دید و ندید خویشتن را     بر بوی تو هر که در چمن شد

## VI (U; R; MG)

می نباشد بمجلسِ تو حرام     که بُوَد در بهشت باده حلال

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(۱) رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ حالِ کاهی بزبان انگلیسی ص ۹۱ — ۸۹

(۲) رجوع کنید بتذکرهٔ بیاض الاشعار محفوظه در کتابخانه پتنه

## XXXI (L2)

هرکس[۱] که دم زند ز سیادت بنزد خلق
باور مکن اگرچه بُوَد فی المثل ولی
سیّد کسی بُوَد که هویدا شود ازو
خُلقِ محمّد و کرمِ مرتضیِ علی

## XXXII (HI2; U2; MG2)

چو داری جاه کس را دل میازار مبادا زین گنه در چاه افتی
اگر از آسمان افتی بسی به که از طاقِ دلی ناگاه افتی

## XXXIII (HI2; U2; MG2)

ای که پا می‌نهی براه طلب گر ز بَد بگذری نکو گردی
مرکبِ سعیِ خویش را میران تا بجائی که جمله او گردی

(۱) رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ حال کاهی بزبان انگلیسی ص ۵۹

## XXVI (L3; U2)

چند بر عیبِ کسان داری نظر — گوهرِ خود را، برو، صرّاف باش
خواه زاهد خواه رند باده نوش — با همه کس بر سرِ انصاف باش
تا کشندت خوبرویان در بغل — همچو شیشه با درونِ صاف باش

## XXVII (HI2; U2)

گر ز یاری نصیحتی شنوی — خاطرِ خود(۱) از آن مساز(۲) ملول
مقبل است آنکسی که گوید پند — نیک بخت آنکسی که کرد قبول

## XXVIII (L2)

هندو(۳) پیری بدرِ سومنات — خواند یکی بیت و من آموختم
حاصلِ عمرم سه سخن بیش نیست — خام بُدم، پخته شدم، سوختم

## XXIX (L2)

خسروا(۴) شعرِ النزامی را — همه کس گفته است دُر سفته
من نگویم تمام را صله ده — صله ده هر که بهتر ک گفته

## XXX (L2)

پادشاها(۵) ز تو مناسب نیست — حالِ کاهی اگر نمی‌پرسی
عیبِ محمود غیر ازین نکنند — که ندانست قدرِ فردوسی

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(۱) خویش U — (۲) این مدار U

(۳) رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ حالِ کاهی بزبان انگلیسی ص ٦

(۴) ایضاً ص ٢٦

(۵) ایضاً ص ۵۴

## XXI (L2)

بنگیئی گفت هر که بنگ نخورد    سگ بر آن آدمی شرف دارد
زاهدی گفت وای بر بنگی    که چو خر دیده بر علف دارد

## XXII (L4)

باش ثابت قدم دلا در فقر    برتر آمد چو ثابت از سیّار
همچو کشتی مرو بهر سوئی    گِرد خود گرد آسیا کردار
لعل و زر بخشدت شه انجم    گر تو پیش‌آوری چو کوه وقار
پای بیرون منه ز(۱) مرکزِ خویش    گر کنندت دو پاره چون پرکار

## XXIII (L2)

شعرِ تر کی آید از هر شاعری    گرچه باشد از فصاحت بهره‌ور
پختنِ حلوا اگرچه مشکل است    لیک مشکل‌تر بود حلوای‌تر(۲)

## XXIV (L2; U2)

کاهی رهی بکعبهٔ مقصود هر که یافت(۳)
هرگز نبست توسنِ همت بمیخِ آز
کوتاه همّتی که پیِ حاصلِ دو کون
دستِ طمع بحضرت(۴) بیچون کند دراز

## XXV (L3)

آدمی بوذ اصلِ او از هند    خواه بی‌عقل خواه اهلِ تمیز
از قضا هر کسی بدر رفتند    طرف بلخ و جانبِ تبریز
چه عجب گر بهند باز آیند    بازگردد باصلِ خود همه چیز

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(۱) « که » فی الاصل
(۲) پختنِ حلوای‌تر (میوه) کارِ طبیعت است و از پختنِ حلوا بیشتر وقت لازم دارد
(۳) کاهی بسوی کعبهٔ مقصود تا شتافت L
(۴) دستِ طلب بجانب U

## XVII (L2)

بنده باید که باخلاص بُوَد در همه کار
تا بالطاف خداوند جهان خاص بُوَد
چند گوئی که ندارم خبری از اخلاص
گوهرِ صدق تو سرمایهٔ اخلاص بُوَد

## XVIII (L2)

گاهی کشد بجانبِ مشرق مرا قدر
گاهی دگر بجانبِ مغرب قضا کشد
زین گونه کز قضا و قدر در کشاکشم
در حیرتم که کارِ من آخر کجا کشد

## XIX (L2)

بنا اهلان مکن کاهی نصیحت    که هر گوشی نباشد قابلِ پند
نصیحت را دُر و (مرجان)[1] نزیبد    مگر در گوشِ شاهانِ خردمند

## XX (L3)

رسید میر فریدون[2] بپایبوسیِ خان[3]
شدند شاد ز دیدارِ هم چو بنشستند
بخواند مطربِ خوش لهجه آن زمان بیتی
که سامعان ز سماعش ز جای برجستند
دو دوست نیک شناسند قدرِ صحبتِ هم
که مدّتی ببریدند، باز پیوستند

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(۱) « له کان » فی الاصل
(۲، ۳) رجوع کنید بترجمهٔ حال کاهی صفحه ۲۸

## XI (L2)

پادشاها چون پسندیدی مرا     پس مرا خوش‌دار تا دارم حیات
گر بگوئی من غلط کردم، بُوَد     قصّهٔ صرّاف و الماس و نبات[۱]

## XII (L2)

از جوانان بُوَد خوش آینده     آشنائی و جستن صحبت
لیک باشد مناسبِ پیران     زهد و تقوی و گوشهٔ عزلت

## XIII (L2)

هر که خواهد گوهری آرد بکف     در بلا بهتر که خود را افگند
قطرهٔ باران که خواهد دُر شود     خویش را خواهد بدریا افگند

## XIV (L2)

یار نیکو گزین که نیک سرشت     هرچه یابد ز همنشین یابد
اثرِ صحبت است اینکه بدهر     خار، قدرِ تُرَنگبین[۲] یابد

## XV (L2)

سحر که نغمه‌سرا گشت عندلیبِ چمن
بوصفِ سروِ سهی غنچه نیز لب بکشاد
بغنچه گفت که زین بیش وصفِ سرو مکن
زبانِ سرخ سرِ سبز میدهد برباد

## XVI (L3)

بسخاوت کشای دست که خَلق     همه گردِ تو بهر زر گردند
زرفشان همچو شمع تا که ترا     مثلِ پروانه گردِ سر گردند
دشمنانِ تو جمله دوست شوند     دوستانِ تو دوست‌تر گردند

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(۱) اگر پادشاه گوید که قدرِ کاهی را نشناخته‌ام مانند صراف بود که قطعهٔ الماس را دانهٔ قند قصور کرده از دست داده

(۲) شیرینی که بر خارهای درخت می‌افتد و خشک شده شکرِ سرخ میگردد

## VII (L3)

دادهٔ دو شاهزاده خدا پادشاه را
کین باغ زان دو غنچه بصد رنگ و بو شده
دو سعدِ اکبرند[۱] ز برجِ شرف عیان
با ماه آفتاب بهم روبرو شده
کاهی سوال کرد ز تاریخِ سالِ شان
گفتا خرد "بنهصد و هفتاد و دو شده"[۲]
(۹۷۲)

## VIII (L2)

رفت تُرکِ صبوحی از عالم   که نبودش بشعر کس همتا
چونکه بابای عالمی میزیست   گفت تاریخِ خویش "شاعر اتا"[۳]
(۹۷۳)

## IX (M2)

دوش غزالی آن سگ ملعون   مست و جنب شد سوی جهنّم
کاهی سالِ وفاتش بنوشت   "ملحدِ دونی رفت ز عالم"
(۹۸۰)

### قسمِ دوّم — بترتیبِ الفبا

## X (L2)

هر که خورشید صفت هر روزی رُخ نماید ننماید زیبا
وانکه همچون مهِ نو کم بنمود در همه شهر شد انگشت‌نما

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(۱) یعنی حسن و حسین پسرانِ اکبر بادشاه
(۲) تاریخِ دیگر از قلمِ قاسم ارسلان: «نمود دو ماه روی از اوجِ شرف» ۹۷۲
(۳) تاریخِ دیگر از قلمِ فیضی: «صبوحی میخوار» ۹۷۳

III (L3 ; M3)

کامران آنکه پادشاهی را کس نبود است همچو او درخورد
شد ز کابل بکعبه و آنجا جان بحق داد و تن بخاک سپرد
گفت تاریخ او چنین کاهی ''پادشا کامران بکعبه بمرد''[1]

(٩٦٥)

IV (L3)

ولی زمان سنگ خاراء حق بین
که در خواب دیدی همه شب خدا را
دلش گوهری بود از کان معنی
نهان شد بخاک و نشد آشکارا
چو تاریخ فوت وی از عقل جستم
بگفتا که باشد ''دل سنگ خارا''

(٩٦٦)

V (L2)

سیّد عاصم که بود با خیل و سپاه شد کشته بتیغ کافران در ره شاه
تاریخ وفات او چنین گفت خرد ''الله الله شهید شد عاصم و آه''

(٩٦٨)

VI (L3)

بود خندان ز روضهٔ سلطان[2] گرد و غندک چو گوی غلطانک
سوی هند آمد و بدهلی رفت در ته خاک رفت پنهانک
یارکی گریه کرد و تاریخش نبود آنکه ''مُرد خندانک''

(٩٦٩)

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(١) در این مادهٔ تاریخ یک سال بیشتر است

(٢) از تعیین این جایگاه قاصر آمدم

# مقطّعات

## قسمِ اوّل — فی التّاریخ - بترتیب سنوات[1]

### I (L2)

ملّا فرّخ که پُر شدش پیمانه — جان داد به پیشِ یار خود مستانه
بر لوحِ مزارِ او پری رخساری — تاریخ نوشت "فرّخِ دیوانه"

(۹۵۶)

### II (J5)

همایون پادشاه آن آفتابی — که فیضِ شاملِ او عام افتاد
بنای دولتش چون یافت رفعت — اساسِ عمرش از انجام افتاد
چو خورشیدِ جهانتاب از بلندی — بپایان در نماز شام افتاد
جهان تاریک شد در چشمِ مردم — خلل در کارِ خاص و عام افتاد
پیِ تاریخِ او کاهی رقم زد — "همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد"[2]

(۹۶۲)

### ایضاً (L3 ; M3)

همایون پادشاه ملک معنی — ندارد کس چو او شاهنشهی یاد
ز بامِ قصرِ خود افتاد ناگه — از آن عمرِ عزیزش رفت برباد
(پیِ) تاریخ او کاهی رقم زد — "همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد"

(۹۶۲)

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(۱) در خصوصِ این مادّه‌های تاریخ و هویّتِ اشخاص رجوع کنید بتالیفِ اینجانب بزبانِ انگلیسی موسوم به ترجمهٔ حالِ قاسمِ کاهی

(۲) در این مادّهٔ تاریخ یک سال کم می‌باشد

## XII (L)

ای سرو سهی که باد عمر تو دراز　　هرچند ترا ناز، مرا پیش نیاز
خواهم که درآب دیده عکست بینم　　یعنی نکوئی کن و در آب انداز

## XIII (L)

ای دامن تو پاکتر از دامن گل　　وز دست غم تو چاک پیراهن گل
گل پیرهن و گل بدن و گل روئی　　با جامهٔ گلگون شده‌ای خرمن گل

## XIV (L)

تا چند باین و آن مقیّد باشیم　　درچشم نکویان جهان بد باشیم
از مردم عالم چو ندیدیم وفا　　آن به که دگر بعالم خود باشیم

## XV (N)

گاهی چو غزالی شه ملک سخنم　　زان روی ستایند بهر انجمنم
(گویند) که جامی و علی شیر که بود　　جامی ست غزالی و علی شیر منم

## XVI (L)

با عاشق از آن لعل شکرخا گفتن　　خوشتر که ز اعجاز مسیحا گفتن
از یاد لبش بکام هرگز نرسم　　شیرین نشود دهان بحلوا گفتن

## XVII (U)

ناصح ز چه خاطرم مشوّش داری　　هردم ز نصیحتم در آتش داری
من از ره عشق بر نخواهم گشتن　　این است طریق ما اگر خوش داری

V. (K)

هر کس که ز اسرار خدا آگاه است    پیوسته میان بنگیانش راه است
از بنگ شود سرّ اناء الحق ظاهر    چون هر برگش بصورتِ الله است

VI (HI; U; MG)

بنگ[۱] است کزو عقل منوّر گردد    هر کس که علف‌وار خورد خر گردد
ماندهٔ کیمیاست یک جو خور ازو    تا مسِّ وجودت همگی زر گردد

VII (A)

بزن بر سینهٔ من خنجری چند    ز رحمت بر دلم بکشا دری چند
وفا ناید دلا از تنگ چشمان    مسلمانی مخواه از کافری چند

VIII (L)

دل کز غمِ هجرِ دلستان میسوزد    از وعدهٔ وصل هر زمان میسوزد
او فارغ ازین حال (و) منِ دلشده را    در آتشِ انتظار جان میسوزد

IX (L)

ای آنکه توئی همیشه در رزم دلیر    در بزمِ تو آسوده نشد هیچ فقیر
دیرین مثلی است که می‌باید بود    در بزم چو گوسفند در رزم چو شیر

X (L)

زد خسرو گل خیمه ببستان دیگر    شد برگ گل از غنچه نمایان دیگر
یعنی (کَه) نشانِ آل آورده برون    گُل از پیِ خونِ عندلیبان دیگر

XI (AA)

جوگی پسری نهفته در خاکستر    دزدیده ز لیلی رخ و از مجنون سر
از خاک فزون شده جمالش آری    آئینه ز خاک میشود روشن‌تر

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(۱) نبک U

# رباعیّات

## I (L)

چون شمع نگر وجود را در اشیا　　هر لحظه شود شعله از آن شمع جدا
آید دگری بجای آن شعله پدید　　تو پنداری که هست آن شعله بجا

## II (L; U)

ای آنکه زبانت بمعارف[1] گویاست
هردم دلت از روی یقین[2] پرده گشاست
حرفی نزنی[3] کزو پشیمان گردی
کاری نکنی[4] که عذرِ آن باید خواست

## III (L)

ای شوخ که شیوهٔ تو بیداد و جفاست
با خسته دلان ترا نه مهر است و وفاست
ما با تو چه گوئیم غم و محنتِ خویش
خود میدانی چه حاجتِ گفتنِ ماست

## IV (HI; U; R; MG)

آن را که همیشه لطفِ حق همراه[5] است
پیوسته ز خویش و از خدا آگاه[6] است
از[7] صورتِ خویش معنیِ حق[8] بیند
یعنی آدم بصورتِ الله است

(۱) بمعانی U
(۲) در نور یقین چشم دلت U
(۳) کاري نکنی U
(۴) حرفی نزنی U
(۵) بنگیتی که ز سرِّ معرفت آگاه U
(٦) پیوسته انیس با گدا و شاه R ;U
(۷) در IH
(۸) معنیِ خود می HI

# مثنویّات

## I

### گل افشان

M (1); MG (1); AA (1)

جهان آفرین را بجان[۱]، آفرین بجان[۲] آفرین صد[۳] جهان آفرین

## II

A (3); MG (3)

چشمه که سیزاید زین[۴] خاکدان اشک مقیمان دل خاک، دان
نرگس شهلا نَبوَد هر بهار آنکه زند سر ز لب جویبار
چشمِ بتان است که گردونِ دون با سرِ چوب آورد از گِل برون

## III

(8) (منقول از نسخهٔ منثورات)[۵]

چو شیری بدام آورد روزگار بزنجیرها سازدش استوار
تو همچون که شیر نبرد آمدی زبردست مردان مرد آمدی
ترا دهر بر رسمِ شیران نواخت چو شیران مقیّد بزنجیر ساخت
چنین است دستوری روزگار که چون سر کشد سروی از جویبار
گه از آب بندد بزنجیرهاش گه از یخ نهد کنده در زیر پاش
تو همچونکه در باغِ اقبال و ناز چو سروی شدی سرکش و سرفراز
زمانه دو صد گونه تدبیر کرد که سرو ترا قید زنجیر کرد
ازین قیدها چون رهاند ترا دگر سروِ آزاد خواند ترا

(۱) هزار AA
(۲) هزار AA
(۳) بر AA
(۴) « ازین » فی الاصل
(۵) محفوظه در کتابخانهٔ پتنه (بانکیپور) نمره ۲۳۵۳ ص VIIa

نبودش در نماز از خود خبر هرچند همچون گل
بدفعِ غنچهٔ پیکان فتادش چاکها در بر
بحکمِ اوست گردون، زانجهت بهر نماز او
بجای خویش آمد بارِ دیگر خسروِ خاور
بعلمِ غیب در کوفه زن از شوهر جدا کرده
بمعنی مادر و فرزند بودند آن زن و شوهر
عجب نبود که دیوِ نفس باشد زیر فرمانش
چو پیش از خود بعمری داشته عفریت را مضطر
نصیر از لطف و قهر او بمُرد و زنده شد صد بار
همانا بُرد اعجازِ مسیحی کارِ او یکسر
جوی بغضِ علی هر کس که کارد در زمینِ دل
ندارد قصّهٔ سلمان و دشتِ ارژنه باور
بسایل داد خاتم در نماز آن معدنِ احسان
دل[1] پاکیزه‌اش چون بود فارغ از زر و زیور
صبا را ساخت مرکب جانبِ اصحاب کهف آمد
بلی همچون سلیمان بود او را باد فرمان‌بر

## III

### (3) [مناقب مرتضوی]

آدم و نوح بوده و ادریس هم براهیم و پور عمران است
گاه اسحٰق و گاه اسمٰعیل گاه داؤد گه سلیمان است
گفت با مصطفی شبِ معراج سخنانی که عقل حیران است

(۱) ظاهراً و فی الاصل «دلی»

# II

[HI 15; MM 8]

شبی[۱] در خوابِ خوش دیدم جمالِ ساقی کوثر
علی ابن ابی طالب امیر المؤمنین حیدر

بدستم داد یک دفتر که در وی نامِ مردان بود
سرِ دفتر کشودم شاه مردان بود سر دفتر

علیِ عالیِ اعلی، ولیِ والیِ والا
که آمد خسروان را تاج بخش و سروران را سر

ندارد اختصاصی با محمّد چون علی هر کس
محمّد شهرِ علم آمد علی آن شهر را شد در

چو بود افضل ولایت از نبوّت زان سبب احمد
گرفتش بر سرِ دوش از پیِ کسرِ بتِ آذر

علیِ مرتضی گر نیست شیرِ حضرتِ یزدان
شبِ معراج چون خاتم گرفت از دستِ آن سرور

کفِ کافیِ آن شاه جوان مردان ید الله بود
وگرنه کی تواند هر کسی کندن در از خیبر

هنوزش مهد منزل بود کز سرپنجهٔ مردی
دوپاره کرد مار و ماند نامش حیدر از مادر

حریمِ کعبه تا شد مولدِ ذاتِ شریفِ او
بگردش خلق میگردند چون پروانه بر آذر

---

(۱) برای شرحِ این قصیده رجوع کنید بمجلّدِ اوّلِ این کتاب موسوم بترجمهٔ حال کاهی .

(ظ) ظلوم و جهول، خصمِ علی ست ظلم بر دوستانِ او اضلال

(ع) عینِ علی ست عین الله عارفان عالم اند نه جهّال

(غ) غالب علی ست در همه علم غیرِ او در حساب، خواب و خیال

(ف) فنا و بقا علی بخشد فانذروا بالغدوِّ و الآصال[1]

(ق) قیّوم و قادر است علی قاضیِ شرع و قاتلِ دجّال

(ک) کافیِ کارساز علی ست کاملان را بگاهِ استکمال

(ل) لطفِ علی محبّان را لازمِ دشمنانِ اوست وبال

(م) منّت مکش ز غیرِ علی مالکِ مُلک اوست در همه حال

(ن) نبی و ولی علی ست، ولی نیست غیر از نبی باو امثال

(و) وقتِ ظهورِ نورِ علی ست وای آنکس کزو نهفت جمال

(ه) هو الله علی ست در اخلاص[2] همه قرآن چه نور[3] و چه انفال[4]

(لا) لا اله الّا هو لا فتی[5] خوان اگر نگشتی لال

(ی) یقینم به آلِ یٰسین[6] است یا علی دستِ ما و دامنِ آل

بندهٔ تست قاسمِ کاهی سرِ خود کرده در رهت پامال

ساقیِ کوثری و میخواهم از کفت کاسه‌های مالامال

تا بُوَد عشق و حسن در عالم تا بُوَد زیبِ حُسن از خط و خال

باد چون غنچه خارجی دلخون باد چون لاله روی آلش آل

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(۱) XXIV, 36 قرآن مجید

(۲، ۳، ۴) اخلاص و نور و انفال اسماء سوره‌های قرآن مجید است

(۵) لا فتی الّا علی لا سیف الّا ذو الفقار

(۶) یعنی آل محمّد

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

# قصائد

## I

## [HI 33]

### الف نامه

(الف) اوّل علی ست جلّ جلال — آنکه در وصف اوست ناطقه لال
(ب) بود باعثِ دو کون، علی — بجز او نیست ایزدِ متعال
(ت) تولّا مکن بغیرِ علی — تا رساند ترا بجاه و جلال
(ث) ثنای علی خدا گفتست — ثابت است این سخن بر اهلِ کمال
(ج) جان و جهان طفیلِ علی ست — جان فدا کن اگر تراست مجال
(ح) حمایت بروزِ حشر، علی ست — حمدِ او گوی ای حمیده خصال
(خ) خلیفه علی بحکمِ نبی ست — خصم را این هوس خیالِ محال
(د) دولت طلب ز ناد علی — داد (او) هست چون به دولت دال
(ذ) ذرّات با علی نازند — ذاتِ او را از آنکه نیست مثال
(ر) رسول از علی رسالت یافت — ریخت جبریل را ازو پر و بال
(ز) زبان را کشا بمدحِ علی — زانکه خوشتر بُوَد ز آبِ زلال
(س) سپاسِ علی و آلِ علی — ساز وردِ زبانِ خود مه و سال
(ش) شکر ریز شو بمدحِ علی — شُکرِ او گوی و باش فارغ بال
(ص) صرفِ علی و آلش به — صد . هزاران هزار مال و منال
(ض) ضربِ علیِ عمران است — ضابطِ ملک به ز رستمِ زال
(ط) طلب از علی وصالِ علی — طالب حق بحق بود ابدال

# دیوان کاهی

استاد ارجمند جناب آقای پرفسور دکتر هادی حسن رئیس قسمت فارسی در دانشگاه علیگده بوسیله جمع‌آوری و تنظیم و تدوین دیوان کاهی اسم آن شاعر بزرگوار را احیاء نموده اند و زحماتیکه مشار الیه در این مورد کشیده اند و خدماتیکه انجام داده اند موجب بسیار تحسین و ستایش است *

کاهی که اسم او سید ابو القاسم نجم الدین میانکالی و مشهور به کابلی است یکی از شعراء نیمهٔ دوم قرن دهم بوده و چنانکه در مقدمهٔ گرد آورندهٔ فاضل گرامی مذکور است کاهی در سال ۹۸۸ هجری قمری بدرود زندگانی گفته بجهان باقی شتافت *

دیوان کاهی که اکنون ما در صدد چاپ آن هستیم انشاء الله بزودی در دسترس دوستداران کتاب خواهد بود اینک قسمتی از اشعار کاهی بوسیلهٔ مجلهٔ ''ایندو ایرانیکا،، انتشار می‌یابد و امیدواریم که قبول خاطر خوانندگان عزیز میباشد تا زحمات گردآورندهٔ دانشمند محترم بثمر رسد *

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# INDO-IRANICA

*The Quarterly Organ of the Iran Society*

*Contents*

*English Section*



*Persian Section*

# Iran Society

## (بزم ایران)

### NOTICE

The Library and the Reading Room of the Iran Society will be shifted from 102, Prinsep Street, to 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta—13, on and from the 1st October, 1954.

The Library and the Reading Room of the Society will be open to members and the public, as before, from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. every day, excepting Sundays and holidays.

M. ISHAQUE,<br>*Secretary,*<br>Iran Society, Calcutta.

# CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

### NOTICE

Applications are invited for the award of the Zainul Abedin Gold Medal for the year 1954. Intending candidates are required to submit an original poem written by them in Persian on the following *ṭaraḥ*:—

با دوستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا

The candidates whose poems will be commended will be required to recite them in public, and the medal will be awarded to the person adjudged to be the best among the candidates. Applications with the original poem must reach the Registrar on or before the 30th December 1954. The competition is on an All-India basis and all persons in India are eligible to compete for the Medal.

Senate House,<br>*The 15th September, 1954.*

S. DATTA,<br>*Registrar.*

# OURSELVES

## THE AVICENNA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

The Readers of INDO IRANICA may remember that the Iran Society of Calcutta is preparing to celebrate the millenary of Sheikh Abu Ali Sina, better known as Avicenna. As part of the celebrations the Society will publish an AVICENNA COMMEMORATION VOLUME as it did on the occasion of the Millenary of Al-Biruni in 1952. Studies are being collected from the various Indian Universities and Oriental Institutes; many foreign Institutions and scholars have also been invited to send in literary contributions.

The Chairman of the Avicenna Millenary Celebrations Committee is glad to report that the response so far has been encouraging.

We have to date received the following articles and studies:—

1. Avicenna and Mysticism, by Dr. J. Houben s.j. of the Nijmegen University, Holland.
3. Der deutsche Beitrag zur Erforschung Avicennas, by Dr. Otto Spies of the Orientalischen Seminar, Bonn University, Germany.
3. Avicenna und die iranischen Furstenbibliotheken seiner Zeit, by Prof. Dr. Max Weisweiler of the Bonn University, Germany.
4. Some Aspects of the Literary and Poetical Activities of Avicenna, by Prof. Mohammad Badruddin Alavi, Muslim University, Aligarh.
5. The Philosopher of Being, by Mlle Goichon of the Paris University.
6. The Avesta Words denoting the Day and the Night, by Prof. Dr. D. Kapadia of the Bandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
7. Ibn Sina and Europe, by Prof. B. M. Gai of the Ismail Yusuf College, Jogeshwari, Bombay University

Other studies announced, but not yet received:

1. Avicenna as a Philosopher, by Prof. H. R. Abdul Majid, Maharaja College, Mysore.
2. Avicenna's Contribution to Persian Literature (in Persian), by Prof. Mohammad Husine, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
3. The fundamental Difference in the Concept of Being in Avicenna and Thomas Aquinas, by Prof. De Raeymacker, President of the Institut Superieur de Philosophie, Louvain University.
4. Ibn Sina's Influence on Indian Thought, by Dr. S. B. Samadi of the Lucknow University.
5. Die arabischen Nomina anatomica in der Canon Ubersetzung des Avicenna, by Dr. Rath of the Bonn University, Germany.
6. (On some Persian Text- not defined) by Prof. Richard N. Rrye of the Widener Library, Cambridge, U.S.A.

Besides these studies the titles of which have already been fixed, several scholars have promised studies, but the subjects chosen has not been intimated as yet.

V. Courtois s.j.
Chairman Avicenna Millenary Celebrations Committee.
Vice-President IRAN SOCIETY.



Fig. 1

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ON A MUSLIM GRAVE IN BIJPIHARA, KASHMIR

# CULTURE INFLUENCE OF PERSIA ON KASHMIR IN MEDIEVAL TIMES *

*By Mohibbul Hasan Khan, Calcutta University*

THE history of cultural relations between Kashmir and Persia goes back to ancient times. This is evident from the tiles of the Harwan monastery near Srinagar and from the ancient sculptures of Kashmir which reveal unmistakably Sassanian characteristics.[1] Similarly Sassanian influence can be detected in the use of official designations like *dibir* or *divira* (after the Persian *dabir*) and *ganjavara* (after the Persian *ganjwar*).[2] On the other hand, Iranian religious thought and practices were influenced by Buddhism which was preached in Iran by missionaries from Kashmir and ancient Gandhara. From the eighth century onwards Kashmir began to be subjected to the political and cultural pressure of Islam. Although Lalitaditya (725-53) repelled the Arab inroads from Sindh, and Samgramaraja (1003-28) successfully resisted Mahmud of Ghazni's two invasions, the Kashmir Rajas were unable to set up barriers against the infiltration of cultural ideas into their kingdom. Lalitaditya's son and successor Vajraditya introduced in Kashmir "practices which befitted the malechchas";[3] and the subsequent rulers, under the influence of Turkish soldiers whom they employed in the army, adopted elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments.[4] The establishment of Türkish rule in Northern India further helped to introduce elements of Persian culture into the Valley. But despite all this, owing to the huge natural ramparts which enclosed it from all sides, her cultural contacts with the outside world were necessarily limited. It was only with the foundation of Muslim rule there in the early part of the fourteenth century that stronger and more endurable links were established with the centres of Persian culture.[5]

In the thirteenth century the Mongols, emerging from their Mongolian steppes, overran considerable parts of Europe and Asia. Kashmir too was subjected to a series of attacks in 1253 and 1263. In 1320 the storm of Mongol invasion again burst upon the country. Raja Suhadeva (1301-20), instead of valiantly resisting the invaders, ignominiously fled leaving his people at the mercy of the Mongols who massacred the men, burnt their

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* Based on the lecture delivered under the auspices of the Iran Society on 11, January, 1954.

[1] R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Arch. and Numis. sections of the Sri Pratab Singh Museum*, Srinagar, pp. 4, 65.

[2] Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. i, Book v, No. 177.

[3] Ibid., Book, iv, No. 158.

[4] Ibid., Book, vii, No. 1149; Vol, ii, Book viii, Nos. 885-6.

[5] These were not confined to the narrow geographical limits of modern Persia, but extended to Central Asia and Northern India & even as far as Asia Minor

dwellings and made their women and children slaves. When the Mongols left after eight months the country was plunged in chaos. The absence of any organized government was taken advantage of by Rinchana, a Buddhist prince from Ladakh, who seized the throne of Kashmir and declared himself as ruler. Soon after he embraced Islam and assumed the title of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (1320-23). But after his death his queen dowager Kota Rani married Udayanadeva, the brother of Raja Suhadeva, and set him up as king, and when he died she declared herself as ruler in 1338. Her position was, however, challenged by Shah Mir who had served as prime minister during the reigns of both Rinchana and Udayanadeva. He had found his way into Kashmir from Swat in the time of Raja Suhadeva in search of fame and fortune, and had gradually made himself the most powerful man in the kingdom. In the struggle for power which ensued between him and Kota Rani, he emerged victorious, and in 1339 laid the foundations of his dynasty. It produced a succession of able rulers, the greatest and most brilliant of whom was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-74). But after his death the power of his house declined, and in 1555 Kashmir passed into the hands of the Chaks. They ruled the country until it was conquered by the emperor Akbar in 1586.

During the rule of the Sultans, which lasted for over 250 years, Kashmir's cultural contacts with Persia became much closer and deeper than they had ever been before. This was brought about by a number of factors. First, the progress of Islam in Kashmir from the fourteenth century onwards was intimately associated with the missionary activities of Sufi saints from Persia and Central Asia who, fleeing first before the Mongol holocaust and then from Timur's atrocities, sought refuge in Kashmir. It was a Sufi saint from Turkestan, Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Din commonly known as Bulbul Shah, who brought about the conversion of Rinchana. Another saint who is regarded as having played the most decisive part in spreading Islam in the Valley was Sayyid Ali from Hamadan who entered Kashmir with seven hundred of his followers in the reign of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-89). His work was continued by his son Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani and others who came to the Valley. Finally, towards the end of the fifteenth century, came Shams-ud-Din from Tālish on the Caspian Sea and introduced Shiism. The arrival of these sufis played an important part in causing an Iranian orientation of Kashmir's culture, for they were not only missionaries of Islam but were also zealous propagandists of Persian language and culture.

Secondly, with the spread of Islam in Kashmir it became natural for its Muslim inhabitants to look for their spiritual and intellectual inspiration to lands which had become the centres of Muslim Culture. Scholars, therefore, began to visit Herat, Merv, Samarqand and Bokhara, which formed part of Persia's cultural empire, to learn at the feet of eminent jurists and devout sufis, and to drink deep from the fountain of Iranian culture. Thirdly, from the reign of Shahab-ud-Din, Persians and Persianized Turks,



Fig. 2

A MUSLIM GRAVE IN SRINAGAR BEARING A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION (1484 A.D.)

attracted by the patronage extended to them by the Sultans, began to pour into Kashmir in increasingly large numbers. These men exercised great influence on the social and cultural life of its people. Jonaraja, a courtier of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, writing of the time of Sultan Sikandar cries in anguish: "Attracted by the gifts and honours which the king bestows, and by his kindness, the Muslims have entered Kashmira, even as the locusts enter a good field of corn," and that "as the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmira."[5]

Fourthly, cultural contact was brought about by merchants who acted as carriers of ideas. Kashmir had since ancient times trade relations with Tibet, China, Turkestan and Persia. It was in this way that Parthian, Sassanian and Chinese influences had penetrated into Kashmir. Under the Sultans too the trade relations were maintained, and as a result, the import of metal-wares, carpets, silks and other articles from Persia and Turkestan gave a great stimulus to the development of arts and crafts in Kashmir.

Lastly, there were exchanges of embassies between the rulers of Persia and Kashmir. According to Kashmir chronicles Shah Rukh (1404-47), the son of Timur, sent Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin elephants and precious stones as presents. The Sultan thanked him, but wrote that he would have appreciated it better if he had received learned men instead. Thereupon, Shah Rukh sent him six scholars and a large number of books on various subjects.[6] Zain-ul-Abidin also maintained friendly relations with Mirza Abu Said (1452-67), the Timurid ruler of Persia and Transoxiana.[7] Later we hear of an exchange of embassy between his grandson, Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84), and Sultan Husain Mirza of Khorasan.[8] The Chak rulers of Kashmir being Shias maintained very close relations with Persia, but unfortunately our chroniclers give us very few details about it.

One important result of the establishment of these religious and cultural ties with Persia and Central Asia was the spread of Persian in Kashmir. Sanskrit had been the language of religion and court in Hindu times, but from the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) it began to be replaced by Persian which soon became very popular in the country. Hafiz was not merely indulging in poetic imagination but was stating a fact when he said:

بشعر حافظ شیراز می گویند و می رقصند
سیه چشمان کشمیری و ترکان سمرقندی

To the strains of Hafiz of Shiraz's verse, sing and dance
The black-eyed beauties of Kashmir and the Turks of Samarqand.

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[5] Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira* (Trans.), III, pp. 57-58.
[6] *Nawadir-ul-Akhbar*, ff. 46b-47a; see also *Gauhar-i-Alam*, f. 126b.
[7] Dutt, III, p. 151; Nizam-ud-Din, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, 440 (A. S. B. Edition).
[8] *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 60a-60b; also Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, f. 36b.
[9] Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, III, p. 283.

The greatest contribution to the spread and development of Persian in Kashmir was made by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. It was he who made it as the State language; and although his mother tongue was Kashmiri he achieved great proficiency in Persian. He conversed in that language fluently, and used to engage himself in a battle of wits with his poet-laureate, Mulla Hasan Kashmiri. He also wrote both poetry and prose in Persian with ease, his *nom de plume* being *Qutub*.[10] He was a great patron of learning. and under his patronage a number of books on science, medicine and philosophy were written in Persian. Thus Mansur bin Muhammad, a great physician, wrote *Kifāyah-i-Mujāhidiyyah*, a work on medicine, and dedicated it to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.[11] He also wrote *Tashrih-bi-Ilaswir*, a treatise on the anatomy of the human body with illustrations which he dedicated to Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson of Timur.[12] Zain-ul-Abidin himself wrote a book on the manufacture of fire-works in the form of a dialogue, and this method became a model for many Kashmiri writers.[13] Towards the end of his life, disillusioned by the revolt of his sons, and by the disloyalty of his courtiers, Zain-ul-Abidin wrote a book named *Shikayat* in which he discussed the vanity and the transitoriness of this world.[14] He established a translation bureau and had Sanskrit works on various subjects translated into Persian. Thus Mulla Ahmad, who was a scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian, translated the *Mahabharata* and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* into Persian.[15] Similarly books from Persian were translated into Sanskrit ; and Shrivara, later in the reign of Fath Shah, translated Jami's *Yusuf-Zulaikha* into Sanskrit and named it *Katha-Kautuka*.[16] The successors of Zain-ul-Abidin followed his example. They too patronised learning, and established schools and colleges where scholars from India, Persia and Central Asia gave lessons. Moreover, most of the Sultans were not only fond of Persian poetry, but were themselves poets, and their courts were adorned by poets of both Persian and Kashmiri origin like Mir Ali, Mulla Nami Awwal, Baba Talib Ispahani, Muhammad Amin Mustaghni, Mirza Ali Khan and others.[17]

The increasing employment of Persian as the language of administration and culture had two-fold effects on Sanskrit. The first was that it led to an influx of a large number of words into Sanskrit. As I have already mentioned that, owing to the Sassanian influence, words like *dabir* and *ganjwar* had been current in Kashmir during the Hindu times. Now with the establishment of the Shah Mir dynasty a much larger number of Persian words began to find their way into the Sanskrit language. Thus those parts of the *Lokaprakasa* that were written during the period of the Sultans contain many

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[10] Haidar Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 117b.
[11] Rieu, II, 470b. [12] Ibid.
[13] Dutt, iii, p. 135. [14] Ibid., p. 167. [15] Ibid., p. 146.
[16] Sufi, *Kashir*, I, p. 167.
[17] In a subsequent issue of this journal I hope to give some *ghazals* and *qasidas* of the Kashmiri poets of this period.




Fig. 3.
INSCRIPTION ON THE TILES OF THE TOMB OF MADANI IN SRINAGAR
(1444 A.D.)

new words like *Shahi*, *Sutrana* (Sultan), *Khawas* and *Silah-dar*. These are not to be found either in those portions of the *Lokaprakasa* whose authorship has been assigned to Kshemendra or in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.[18] Similarly in the Sanskrit chronicles by Jonaraja, Shrivara, Prajyabhatta and Suka we find the use of a large number of Arabic, Persian and Turkish words like *Khatona* (*Khatūn*),[19] *Khanagaha* (*khanqah*), *mallika* (*malik*), *masedaha* (*masjid*), *madrasa*,[20] and *ravava* (*rubab*).[21]

The second effect was that it caused a decline in the popularity of Sanskrit in the Valley. This, however, does not mean that it was immediately with the establishment of Muslim rule relegated to the background. On the contrary it held a position of primacy till the end of the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1373-1389), and even after it had ceased to be the official language it continued to enjoy the patronage of the Sultans. During their rule many Persian and Arabic works were translated into Sanskrit, and chronicles like *Rajavali*, *Jaina-Rajatarangini*, and *Rajavalipataka* were written in that language. Moreover, its use for both private and official purposes was not entirely discarded. In fact in many cases it was employed side by side with Persian. Thus there are a number of Muslim graves of the 15th and 16th centuries which bear bi-lingual inscriptions: Sanskrit at the top and Persian at the bottom (fig. 2). Stein refers to a deed of sale of as late as the year 1682 written in both Sanskrit and Persian. Similarly, there is preserved in the Srinagar Museum a bi-lingual will of Shaikh Makhdum Hamza, a great Kashmiri saint, dated 984 A.H./1576 A.D. and written on *bhojapatra* (birch-bark). The Sanskrit version in the Sharada character on the right side cannot be deciphered, but the Persian text on the left is partly legible. In spite of these instances, however, it cannot be denied that Sanskrit fought a losing battle in the Valley, and by the end of the 17th century its use and study had become confined to a very small number of Brahman priests.

Another sphere in which the Iranian influence is clearly in evidence is that of arts and crafts. The credit for introducing most of the arts belongs to Zain-ul-Abidin. It was he who for the first time introduced the art of paper-making and book-binding. He sent two persons to Samarqand where each of them was required to learn to manufacture paper and to bind books. On their return to Srinagar the Sultan asked them to teach others what they had learnt abroad, and established factories where paper-making and book-binding were carried on.[22] Zain-ul-Abidin also improved the manufacture of silk by introducing for the first time the use of the weaver's brush and loom, and by importing the decorative designs from Persia.[23]

[18] Z.D.M.G., xviii, pp. 294, 347, 350.
[19] Dutt, iii, 157. [20] Ibid 225-27.
[21] Ibid. 136.
[22] Haidar Malik, f. 120a.
[23] Dutt, iii, 151.

As regards the Shawl industry no conclusive evidence can be offered about its origin. Some writers think that it existed in Hindu times. But according to the local tradition recorded during the 19th century, the first Kashmiri shawls were produced by Turkestan weavers introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin. It is also stated that the shawl industry was founded by Sayyid Ali Hamadani in 1378.[24] These statements may or may not be correct, but one thing is beyond question: That the shawl industry was developed under the patronage of the Sultans with the help of weavers who came from Persia and Central Asia. These immigrants not only introduced new patterns but also a new weaving technique which has a parallel in Persia and Central Asia but nowhere on the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent[25]

Kashmiri metal-work reveals very clearly the influence of Persian art. The art of tinned metals used in northern India and Kashmir was introduced from Persia. The drinking vessels of Kashmir are mostly in red copper, embossed, enamelled and tinned. Their handles represent the head and tail of a Chinese dragon, but their floral decorations and forms are mainly Persian, while the influence of the Hindu art is retained by the profusion with which the decorations are scattered on the vases. These three ancient civilisations—Persian, Chinese and Hindu—met in Kashmir, but the influence of the first overshadowed that of the other two, although it was modified by national tendencies. It must not, however, be thought from this analysis that the Kashmiris were mere imitators. Some of the forms of their ewers are different from the Persian forms ; in fact some of the shapes are found nowhere in Asia. Moreover, the Kashmiris excel above all in a kind of enamel work, and they decorate their vases in a particular fashion which distinguishes their work from that of India and Persia. Thus the art of Kashmir has also its original side. To quote Ujfalvy, "With Islam came Perso-Arab art in Kashmir. The people the most ingenious, perhaps in the entire world and certainly in Central Asia, found themselves in the presence of admirable models, and with their marvellous talent for imitation and execution they set themselves to work and create for their daily use a series of objects of art which soon surpassed the originals."[26]

Painting and calligraphy also, like other arts, felt the impact of Persian influence. Both these arts were actively encouraged by the Sultans as is evident from a study of the Sanskrit and Persian chronicles. But unfortunately neither any works of painting nor any manuscripts of calligraphic significance have survived the devastating cataclysms of civil strife and foreign invasions. We only know the name of one painter of the time of

[24] Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir*, 118-9; see also *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, ixxx, 309.

[25] See for more details, John Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawls*, 43-50 (*The Marg*, vi, No. 1, 1952).

[26] Ujfalvy, *Les Cuivres anciens du Cachmere*, 27-8.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin called Mulla Jamil who was also a musician and sang beautifully in Persian.[27] However some mosques and tombs still bear Persian and Arabic inscriptions in elegant *Naskh* and *Nastaliq* which show that the art of calligraphy had been carried to a high degree of perfection in Kashmir. (Fig. 2, 3) During the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin a number of calligraphists came to the Valley from Persia and Central Asia and were given jagirs. Zain-ul-Abidin had a number of copies made of Zamakhshari's *Kashshaf*, a well-known commentary of the Quran.[28] The greatest calligraphist of the Chak period was Muhammad Husain who, when Kashmir was annexed by the Mughals, entered the service of Akbar. The emperor was so much impressed by the grace, beauty and symmetry of his compositions that he conferred on him the title of *Zarrin qalam*.[29] Another noted calligrapher of the Chak period was Ali Chaman Kashmiri. He too was patronised by Akbar.[30] Under Jahangir and Shahjahan also some of the most prominent calligraphers were of Kashmiri origin.

I have referred here only to some of the influences which Persian culture exerted on Kashmir. In reality there is hardly any aspect of Kashmiri life which has escaped the impact of Persia. Sanskrit and Kashmiri languages, art and architecture, manners and customs, food and dress all bear the stamp of Persian influence. That is why Kashmir was for a long time called *Iran-i-Saghir*. But it must be noted that the assimilation by Kashmir of all that was best and of permanent value in Persian culture was completed by the end of the fifteenth century, long before the Moghuls began to knock at her door. No doubt with their invasion another wave of Persian influence reached Kashmir, but this was not different from what she had herself directly received. The chief contribution of the Moghuls is that by extending their patronage and by establishing peace they helped to revive arts and crafts which, due to civil wars and foreign invasions during the rule of the later Shah Mirs and the Chaks, had suffered a set back.

[27] Dutt, iii, 439; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, iii, 439.
[28] Sufi, *Kashir*, ii, 558.
[29] *Ain-i-Akbari*, 109 (Trans. Blochmann 1927 edition).
[30] Ibid.

# ABŪ RAIḤĀN AL BĪRŪNĪ AND HIS INDIAN STUDIES

*By Dr. M. L. Roy Choudhury, D.Litt.,*

THERE is no denying the fact that the 'Abbāsid period of Khilāfat was the golden age of Arabic literature—both in original works and in translation. The patronage of the Khalīfas encouraged scholars from other lands to visit the 'Abbāsid court and they were sure to receive royal patronage. During the reign of Khalīfah Manṣūr (A.D. 753-774) we find one Indian scholar arriving at the court of Baghdād in 156 A.H. (A.D. 772), —he was well versed in astrology and mathematics. He had with him a copy of *Brahma Siddhānta* ( ब्रह्मसिद्धान्त ). With the help of an Arabic scholar, Ibrāhīm Farāzi, he translated the Brahma Siddhānta under the name of *Sind Hind.* The Arab mathematicians in later age utilised this *Sind Hind* as a source book and it has been quoted profusely by Arab astronomers. The interest which the Arabs showed in Indian astronomy and mathematics was due to their contacts with Indians in the earlier period. The contact between the Arab public and Indian merchants may be had from *Muruj-al-Dhahab of* Mas'ūdi, *Rasāil* of Jāhiz and *Mahaḍarat-ul-'Udbāt* of Ispahānī.[1] That the Arabs learnt the use of numerals (at least the writing of numerals) from the Indians is proved by the fact that the Arabs write their alphabets from right to left, while in the case of numerals they write from left to right and the Arabs call mathematics by the name of *Hisāb ul Hind* i.e. mathematics of Hind.[2] Al Manṣūr was so greatly interested in astronomy that he had an observatory (मानमन्दिर) built at Baghdād by one Khān Jain with the help of Indians.[3] This observatory was seen by Al Birūni personally three hundred years after. For calculation of the axis of the earth, the Muslims adopted the basis of UJJAINI in India and the word Ujjaini came to mean the axis of the earth. The Hindu astronomers believed that the axis of the earth passed through Ujjaini.[4]

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[1] *Rasāil al-Jāhiz,* p. 73, Mas'ūdi, *Murujl-al-Dhahab* vol. I, p. 355 ff.

[2] It is not a fact that modern style of writing numbers (1, 2, 3, . . . . 9) is an Arab contribution. It is a copy of Sanskrit style.

[3] *Sind Hind-i-Sagīr*—Ed. Cairo—p. 178.

[4] *Kitāb-ul-Hind,* pp. 158-159.

Of other works translated during this period, mention may be made of the following:—

(1) *KHANDA KHĀDHYAKA*—(a book on astronomy) खण्डखाद्यक translated by Al Farāzī.

(2) *PANJIKA*—(Almanac) पंजिकाशास्त्रम् by Khān Jain.

(3) *HITOPADESH* of Vishṇu Śarmā हितोपदेश: by Abal.[1]

(4) *PANCHATANTRA* of Vishṇu Śarmā पञ्चतन्त्रम् by Ibn ul-Mukaffā.

(5) *KALILĀ WA DAMNĀ* (*Karataka-Damanaka Kathā*) through Persian करटक दमनक कथा ।

(6) *GANIT* (Arithmatic) of Ārya Bhatta गणितम् by an unknown author.

(7) *NAKSHATRA ŚĀSTRA* (Science of lunar state) by unknown author नक्षत्र शास्त्रम् ।

(8) *KARAṆA TILAK* (the TITHI—nymthemera) by Brahma Gupta(?) synopsis by Abu Muhammad Alah कर्णतिलकम् ।

(9) *JOSAPHA AND BĀRLĀM*—(Bodhisatwa and Purohit) description of Buddha and his preceptor in Persian.

The story relating to the appointment of Hindu medical men as court physicians is well known. After the establishment of a royal hospital and bureau of Sanskrit translation at Baghdād, a large number of Sanskrit works were translated in different branches.[2]

Mank translated—Carak (चरकशास्त्रं) science of medicines.
,, ,, Caṇak (चणकशास्त्रं) science of veterinary.
,, ,, ...... (विषशास्त्रं) science of poison.
,, ,, (गर्भिणीरोगचिकित्सा) treatment of pregnant woman.
,, ,, (भेषजप्रकरणम्) science of pharmacology
Dhan translated— ... (अष्टांग)... science of Eight parts (anatomy)
,, ,, ...(सिद्धिस्थान) science of joints

There were many books translated by Saleh but no manuscripts is in existence. Of these translations, astrology (drawing of horoscope), agriculture, anatomy and palmistry may be mentioned.

During the reign of Ma'mūn Mahammad bin Mūsā translated Indian बीजगणित (*Bīja Gaṇit*) called it Algebra ( الجبر ). Some Spanish Arab scholars spread this science to Europe and it is known by the Arabic name

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[1] Al-Barmakī gave Abal, 100,000 *dinars* as reward for this translation of Hitopadesh (*Bidbā* بيدبا ).

[2] *Hitopadesh* could not be completed during the life time of Manṣur but it was finished at the time of Khalīfah Hárún.

*Algebra.* The greatest mathematical invention of the medieval age was the discovery of O (Zero) and it was done by the Hindus. Through the Spanish Arab agency, zero was communicated to the West. 'Abdullāh translated *Carak Saṁhitā* into Arabic from Persian during this period. No MSS. in full has been discovered though quotations from original may be found in contemporary works in Arabic language.

By the time of Hārūn-al-Rashīd (A.D. 786-808) we have the following Sanskrit works translated into Arabic[1]:—

(1) *Gynæchology* (स्त्रीरोग) by Roshena (a lady scholar).
(2) *Diseases of gestation* (गर्भिणीरोग) author not known.
(3) *Treatment of snake bites* (सर्पचिकित्सा) (Rai Paṇdit) translator not known.
(4) *Veterinary science* (पशुचिकित्सा) of Kaṇkāyan translator not known.
(5) *Science of necromancy* (भुतविद्या) of Rājā Kahn translator not known.
(6) *Character of women* (स्त्रीचरित्रम्) of Rājā Kosh or Ghosh, Buddha Ghosh?
(7) *Drinkable* (पानीयशास्त्रम्) of Atri. (अत्रि)
(8) *Science of wine.* (सुराशास्त्रम्)
(9) *Science of music.* (सङ्गीत विद्या)
(10) *Science of mineralogy.* (खनिविद्या)

The dates of translation are not mentioned in the MSS generally. That these books were translated during the 'Abbāsid period is apparent from Ibn Nadim's[1] *Fihrist* which mentioned the names of these works, (A.D. 987) and the period of the great 'Abbāsid scholar kings is between A.D. 753 to 861 (Manṣūr to Mutwakkil). The inspiration for the translation of medical works came from the school of medicine that was started by the Barmakids. It is possible that these works were done through the medical scholars in the school of *Dhanwantari*[2] (धन्वन्तरी) because they related to the science of medicine in different branches. It was compulsory for an Indian student to study grammar and philosophy before he was allowed to go in for medicine. So those medical scholars could easily impart knowledge of Indian philosophy to the Arab students. Hence we find a variety of subjects besides medicine introduced by the medical scholars in the Baghdād court.

In A.H. 437 Abū Sabah and Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī Tabali translated the *Mahābhārat* jointly. One book of logic (*Manṭiq*) was translated by Yāqūbī.

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[1] Ibn-i-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist* pp. 245, 270-77.

[2] DHANWANTARI is a common term for Indian medical men in Sanskrit.

During this period the exploits of a Sindhi merchant[1] generally known as Sindbād the Sailor were translated into Arabic from Persian under the name Thousand Nights *ALF-LAILA-WA-LAILA*. The edition in Persian was known as HAZĀR DĀṢTĀN the Thousand Fables. The Sanskrit original was *SAHASRA RAJANI* ( सहस्त्ररजनी ) —Thousand Nights. The real source of this book was *KATHĀ-SARIT SĀGAR* ( कथा-सरित्सागर ). The book having been filtered through Persian naturally introduced the imagery and technique of Iranian life. The setting was Persian though the background was Indian. The study and popularity of this book were largely responsible for introduction of the Indian ideas of rebirth or transmigration into Arabic literature. The book was introduced into Europe with the title of the *Arabian Nights* and it was supposed to have been the product of Arab mind.

Khalīfah Mutwakkil (A.D. 847-861) though a terribly pro-Muslim was culturally eclectic. He sent one Aḥmad bin Khāfī to India to collect Indian books.[2]

By the end of the 10th century a large number of Indian works were found in book shops of Islamic cultural centres from Granada to Ghazna.[3] Libraries of individual scholars often contained Sanskrit works,—some in original, many in translation. Some of the Sanskrit books were written in Arabic characters. We have a copy of a Sanskrit book written in Arabic character in Calcutta.[4] One Mas'ūd was the first to write Sanskrit alphabets in Arabic characters in the later part of the 10th century. It may be suggested that this type of writing is the origin of Urdu in India because the Indians served as interpreters between the Muslim conquerors and local Indians; the language used in these camps ( اردو ) URD is known as Urdu. There is no doubt that some Muslim conquerors recruited Indians into their army especially as archers. There was an old tradition that the army of DARIUS contained a large number of Indian archers. In the battle of Karbala there were 15,000 Indian Jats employed and these Indians ultimately settled on the banks of the Tigris.[5] The local habits and traditions of these Hindu

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[1] Al Birūni mentioned that an embassy from Sind visited Babylonia in A.D. 776 Abū Wadih says that an embassy from Sind was present in the court of 'Abū Abbās Saffah when the latter one was on his death bed at Anbar.

[2] We have not got a detailed list of his collections. Instead we find a summary of the Indian books in Arabic through the pen of a Spanish Muslim scholar Musaylama bin Aḥmad Ma'titi (A.D. 1004). Another Spanish Muslim scholar Abū'l Qāsim Beg wrote a book on Indian *Siddhānta* in 422 A.H. (early 11th century A.D.).

[3] The catalogue of Ibn Nadīm who was a book-seller speaks well of the book business of the Arabs.

[4] Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscript of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh, p. 407, 485.

[5] Amir Alī, *History of the Saracens*, p. 283.

settlers who ultimately became Muslims, still continue there in some form or other. Of these interpreters, we know definitely Tilak bin Jai (son of Jai) was in the service of Qāḍī Shirāzi Bulhas 'Alī, an official of the court of Ghazna.

There is no doubt that by the end of the 10th century the Muslims in Baghdād through direct contact with Indians had broadened their conception of culture. Some Muslim scholars, indeed, developed a genuine desire of studying the ways of life and the beliefs of the Hindu idolators with a view to understanding them better. The example of Maḥmud of Ghazna is typical. Although he was far from being a friend of the Hindus he had conquered, yet he did allow his captive scholar, Abū Raiḥān Al-Bīrūnī, to study things *Hindu* and to show a keen interest in the faith of the Indian Peoples.

Al Bīrūnī was a resident of Khiva (formerly Khwarizm and a councillor to the Mamūnī ruler of the place. When in A.D. 1017 Sulṭān Maḥmud of Ghazna overran Khiva he took Al Bīrūnī as hostage to his court. Muḥmud being a miserly sort of man did not pay liberally to Al Bīrūnī 'so that he might carry on his researches'; it was his son Mas'ūd whose pension enabled the sixty-one year old scholar to pursue peacefully the culture of idolatrous Hindus. He dedicated his *AL-QANŪN AL-MAS'ŪDĪ*[1] to Sulṭān Mas'ūd and not to Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

Al Bīrūnī had an opportunity of coming in touch with Indians when he followed the train of troops of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. It is a fact that he had read about India and Indians in books, and that he had met at Ghazna Hindus who were serving there. It was at Kabul,[2] Multan, Peshawar, Benaras and Kashmir that he got the opportunity of direct contact with the Indian *Paṇḍits*, and with their help bought MSS of reputed Sanskrit works.

Al Birūni's sources of knowledge of Indian culture were—

1. Study of Indian subjects in older works while in Ghazna and Kabul.
2. Contact with Hindu Paṇdits in Ghazna and in Indian cities.
3. Personal visits to places of pilgrimages of Hindus against which expeditions were led by Sulṭān Maḥmūd.
4. Personal study of Sanskrit original works and translations in India.

[1] *Al Qānūn al Ma'sūdi* is found in four manuscript copies but it has not been edited as yet. A scholar who is versed in Arabic, Sanskrit and astronomy may take up the work.

[2] About 975 A.D. the city of Kabul was in Muslim hands, its suburb was inhabited by the Hindus. Kabul was the seat of coronation for Pāla kings. Even when they ceased to reside at Kabul they continued their old custom of crowning their Kings in Kabul as their tradition demanded.

I have already referred to the Sanskrit study in the 'Abbāsid court. Al Birūni must not have missed them, a voracious reader as he was, interested in Indian subjects. He further referred to the following sources in connection with his study on India and Indian subjects:—

1. Account of Abū-Dulaf Ya'qūbi'i who had visited India in A.D. 941.
2. Account of Al Iran-Shahri and its notes by Zurqān written in A.D. 863.
3. *The catalogue of Ibn Nadīm* (987 A.D.) which contained description of Sanskrit works and their translations at Baghdad.
4. *Sūfī works* of Abū Bakr Al-Siblī and Abu Yazīd Al-Bistāmī specially in connection with pantheism in Islām. Those two authors drew profusely from Indian sources.
5. References in *Al-Kindī* re: the Karṇa (कर्ण) i.e. lacuna.
6. *Carak Saṃhitā's* translation by 'Ali bin Zain (imperfect).
7. *Khayāl-ul-Khusūfaini* (Image of two ecl'pses).

Al-Birūnī was not satisfied with mere translations. It is told that he came to Benaras to study Sanskrit with the Indian *Pandits*.[1] However high be his place of study, it is a fact that he complained of the carelessness and ignorance of the Arab copyists. He regretted that the MSS. were so badly copied that even the Indian authors would hardly recognise these as their own work, specially the proper names. Take for instance names with छ (ch) थ (tha) प (p) य (Ya) क्ष (kṣha). Generally soft sounds are absent in Arabic. The Arab copyists translated MLECH (म्लेच्छ) as IMLEJ املیج SISHYAHITA (शिष्यहित) as (skat), سکهت, GARUDA (गरुड) as گرر GUR , Madhyaloka (मध्यलोक) as MATLUK متلوك etc. It is no fault of the Arab copyists because the Indian sounds like (ژ چ پ) are absent in Arabic. Then come the combined letters of Sanskrit क्ष (KṢHA) ज्ञ (ÑJA) etc. which cannot be properly written in Arabic with I'RĀB (diacritical marks) or with TASHDID (doubles). Persian alphabets are no doubt nearer to Sanskrit vocabulary than Arabic, because the origin of both Persian and Sanskrit are Aryan, and the number of Persian consonants are 33 while in Sanskrit 36, and in Arabic they are only 23. Further, the subjects in which Al Birūni was interested, were highly

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[1] Al-Birūni styled Sanskrit as *Logal Hindi*—not Sanskrit as Amīr Khasru did later. Al Bīrūnī's knowledge of Sanskrit was not as thorough as it was wide. It seems that he had to depend on quotations of Arabic translators for interpretations of his Indian Paṇdits. His critical mind and general acquaintance with the subjects of his study often made up the deficiency of his knowledge of Sanskrit.

technical such as astronomy, astrology, mathematical geography, arithmetic, chemistry, physics, minerology, philosophy and medicine. Any slight mistake anywhere would completely upset the whole meaning and intention of the author. So Al Bīrūnī had to be more critical about verification of technical words, proper names and their import.

Al-Bīrūnī gave a list of the books which he read in Arabic translation, of which he made special study and which he translated from Sanskrit into Arabic, or which he wrote in Sanskrit.

Of the important books which he read and which he worked upon, mention may be made of the following:—

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|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Brahma Siddhānta* of Brahma Gupta | Astrology |
| 2. | *Brihat Saṁhita* of Barāhamihir | Astrology |
| 3. | *Laghu Jātakam* of Barāhamihir | Astrology |
| 4. | *Pancha Siddhāntikā* of Barāhamihir | Astronomy |
| 5. | *Pulisa Siddhānta* by Paulisa | Greek Astronomy |
| 6. | *Romaka Siddhānta* by Sri Sen | Roman Astronomy |
| 7. | *Khanda Khādhyaka* of Brahma Gupta | Gupta Astronomy |
| 8. | *Chhanda* of Haribhatta ( هرى ) | Meter and Prosody |
| 9. | *Yogśāstra* of Patanjali | Philosophy |
| 10. | *Bhagavat Gitā* | Religion |

*Brahma Siddhānta* of Brahma Gupta:—

Al Bīrūnī was most interested in astronomy and astrology. He was the court astrologer (*Munajjim*) of Sultān Muhmūd and *Brahma Siddhānta* was already known to the Arabs as *Sind Hind*. Brramma Gupta was an inhabitant of Bhillamala near Multān. He was only 30 years of age when he wrote his *Brahma Siddhānta* which was an improvement on the work of Ārya Bhatta. Al Bīrūnī has utilised *Brahma Siddhānta* in full and his *Kitābul Hind* is mainly based on Brahma Gupta's work. But unfortunately we have not been able to find a complete copy of his translation of Brahma Siddhānta.

*Brihatsaṁhitā* of Barāhamihir (with its commentary by Utpala of Kashmir):—Al Bīrūnī translated *Brihat Saṁhita* and *Laghu Jātakam* of Barāhamihir. While referring to *Brihat Saṁhitā* he simply named it *Saṁhitā*. He is all praise for Barāhamihir as an astronomer (*Kitāb ul-Hind*, p. 266). He speaks of two commentaries of Barāhamihir "the Big One" (*Brihat Jātakam*) while Balbhadra himself claims to have translated the "Similar One" (*Laghu Jātakam*) into Arabic (*Kitāb ul-Hind*, p. 76.)

*Pancha Siddhāntika* of Barāhamihir:—This was a small hand book of astronomy for immediate reference. It does not, as the name suggests

contain five or any of the five chapters of *Siddhāntas*. Al Bīrūnī mentioned five *Siddhāntas* which had been referred to by Brahma Gupta as *Surya Siddhānta* of Lata, *Vasistha Siddhānta* of Vishnuchandra, *Pulisa Siddhānta* of Paulisa the Greek. *Romaka Siddhānta* of Sri Sen and *Brahma Siddhānta* of Brahma Gupta. Al Bīrūnī very seldom quoted from *Pancha Siddhānta.*

*Pulisa Siddhānta and Romaka Siddhānta* of Sri Sen—Brahma Gupta has referred to these two foreign works on astronomy. Paulis was a Greek from *Saintra* (Sanskrit name for Alexandria), *Pulisa* or *Paulisa* was *Pulis* or *Polis* corresponding to *pura* (city), or *Paura* (a citizen). The author might have been a resident of Helioplis near Alexandria in Egypt. There is also mention of the word *Yavana* meaning Greek in Brahma Gupta's work. May be that besides Pulisa there were other Greeks with whose works Brahma Gupta was conversant. In calculating the dimension of the globe Brahma Gupta and Pulisa have used the similar data. Al-Bīrūnī has not supported Ārya Bhatta's calculations, rather, he prefers the theory of Pulisa as adopted by Brahma Gupta. He quotes profusely from the *Pulisa Siddhānta*, when necessary, to compare Greek and Hindu theories on various branches of astronomical calculation regarding the age of the earth, duration of days, nights, *Kalpa* and *Yuga* and *Caturjuga* (**कल्प, युग, चतुर्युग**) (pp. 170, 172, 186, 188, 189, 218, 230) and for size of the earth (pp. 233, 235, 291, 203, of *Kitāb-ul-Hind*), compared the figures of Brahma Gupta, Pulisa and Balbhadra (p. 161). He utilised *Arkhand* in reducing the years into months and days (p. 225) and in reverting to the calculation of *Yugas* (Era), Brahmagupta calculated the diameters of the sun and moon in *Khanda Khādvaka*. Al-Bīrūnī compared the dates given by Balbhadra, Al-Khahwarizmi and Biteswara in his *Karnasāra* (p. 241).

While drawing horoscope according to the position of the most dominant star of the year, the Hindus make back-calculations from hours, days and months as described in the *Khanda Khādyaka*. The position of the planets are well calculated by the Hindu method though Al-Bīrūnī did not accept all their calculations (p. 260). Hindus fixed the dates for festivals according to the position of the stars e.g. the sun festivals of Multān (called *SĀMBAPURAYĀRTĀ*) according to the astronomical calculations of *Khanda Khādyaka*. Similarly they calculated their auspicious days (p. 290) according to Brahma Gupta's calculations.

*Chanda of HARIBHATTA*: *Haribhatta* has been spelt as HARUD. Al-Bīrūnī while writing on the Sanskrit meters, drew comparison with the Arabic mters (p. 63-65). He spoke of *Laghu* and *Guru* (short and long) meters and he again drew a comparative table of the Arabic system. Though there were other Sanskrit books on meter and better ones Al-Bīrūnī utilised a second rate authority on Sanskrit meter.

*Yogaśāstra* of Patanjali's was translated in the form of questions and answers. The original which Al Bīrūnī consulted was different from the one consulted by Rājā Bhoja for his commentary. Balabhadra has written a commentary on Patanjali which looks like a *Purāṇa* rather than a philosophical treatise. This text has been referred to by Al-Bīrūnī as *Mufassar Bātanjal* (مفسر باتنجل). Rejendra Lal Mitra of Bengal in his English translation of Pātanjali (A.D. 1883) consulted Rājā Bhoja's edition.[1]

While discussing the religion and belief of the Hindus Al Bīrūnī quoted from the *Bhāgavat Gītā* on several occasions. He considered the *Gītā* or *Bhāgavat Gītā* as a part of the *Mahābhārat* which he mentioned simply as *Bhārat*. The way in which Al-Bīrūnī refers to the *Gītā* shows that he respected the intellectual side of that great work on Hindu philosophy.

His references are simple and direct without any verbosity. It is doubtful if Al-Bīrūnī had read the Gītā in original or if he had the book translated before him by his interpreters. In his quotations Al-Bīrūnī avoided mentioning the different *Yoga* systems which the Gītā expounds. Is it because he himself did not understand them, or is it because his Arabic readers would not appreciate the intricacies of the system, or is it because the commentary which he has utilised as it then existed, did not contain those ideas?

Al-Bīrūnī's earliest quotations from the *Gītā* related to the nature of God (p. 14). His quotation is not a translation of any verse, but is only an explanation of a verse (Chap. XV. 3). Al Bīrūnī must have either used a text which does not exist at the present time or he depended on the interpretation of the interpreter. The idea contained in that verse has no parallel in Islām. It is the philosophy of the individual striving to become similar to God. There he mentioned the idea that "God cannot be comprehended by the knowledge of any man while His knowledge comprehends everything."

Again in p. 19 Al-Bīrūnī while speaking about the ideas of creation said that the learned Hindus do not believe in anthropomorphism but the Hindus consider the whole creation as a unity and that unity emanated from God. Al-Bīrūnī in support of this theory quoted verse No. 14-15 of Chapter XIV, a part of which does not seem to occur in the *Gīta*.

In pp. 25 and 26 Al-Bīrūnī speaks of the state of souls and their migrations through the world in the metapsychosis. The passage quoted covers two pages in full. In the original Gītā there is no such long verse which may be translated as Al-Bīrūnī has produced. In Chapter XII there are

[1] See references to Pātanjali see pp. 13, 28, 34, 37, 40, 43, 45, 63, 92, 45, 118, 119 and 124 etc. regarding the cosmic subjects like the *LOAKAS, MOUNT MERU,* the different spheres.

several verses which give similar idea ; but Al-Bīrūnī's quotations seem to be an explanation for new entrants into the subject as his readers were Arabs.

Discussing the Hindu doctrine of liberation, ***Moksha,*** and the path leading to liberation (p. 35), Al-Bīrūnī draws a distinction between the 'knowing' and 'acting' and then reconciles the two. A study of the entire passage (p. 35-37) in his *Indica*, confirms the view that Al-Bīrūnī has not read the original but he stated the imagery of "a lamp sheltered from wind which does not flicker" or comparison with waters of the rivers which do increase the ocean, has been taken from the *Gītā* (Chap. VI. v. 19 and Chap. II. v. 70). Similarly he has reproduced faithfully the comparison of Brahman to an *Aswatha* tree (Chap. XV. V. 1-6).

Only in the later part of his book Al-Bīrūnī gives faithful quotations from the *Bhāgavat Gītā* (p. 49), Chapter XVIII, pp. 41-45 and Chapter IV, pp. 31-38, Chap. IX, pp. 32, 33. In his last quotation on the idol worship, Al-Bīrūnī gives only one quotation correctly (Chap. IV. IV. v. 25); the whole thing is rather confused.

Al-Bīrūnī was perhaps the first Arabic scholar who began the study of the *Purāṇas*. Al Bīrūnī was a historiographer by the very nature of his training. Every Muslim student is to begin with the Qur'ān and he has to continue through history of Islām before he is allowed to pursue any other course of study. Al-Bīrūnī naturally became interested in Indian chronology or history which was written under the garb of history, myth and religion combined together and it was called *Purāṇa* (the *Ancient*). But the *Purāṇas* contained many things other than mere history or they revealed eternal truths through examples—so *Purāṇas* were also called the *Eternal*.

Al-Bīrūnī has referred to eighteen *Purāṇas* and he has given their names according to the version of the *Ṛshis* and according to *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (p. 63). Of the eighteen *Purāṇas*, Al- Bīrūnī mentioned that he had only seen *Matsya*, *Āditya* and *Vāyu Purāṇas*, and that some portion of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* had been read before him (p. 63), which he himself admitted without reserve.

Al Bīrūnī claimed to have translated the following in full:—

1. *Bṛahma Siddhānta* of Bṛahma Gupta.
2. *Laghu Jātakam* of Bṛahma Gupta.
3. *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* of Barāhamihira.
4. *Yogaśāstra* of Pataṇjali.
5. *Pāniya ṣāstra* of Atṛi.
6. *Sāṁkhya* of Kapila.
7. *Nyāya* of Gautama.
8. Some books of miscellaneous nature, of these I have referred to *Bṛahma Siddhānta, Laghu Jātakam, Bṛihat Saṁhitā* and *Yoga Ṣāstra* of Pataṇjali already.

*Pāniyaśāstra* (Science of Drinkables) is interesting. The author was possibly Atṛi, an Indian sage. This book discussed a variety of subjects relating to preparations of liquid extracts and tinctures from variety of minerals and other materials. The method of extraction of juice from flowers was very much appreciated by the ancient Iranians and they called the juice as 'ITR from the name of the inventor of the process. But the science was lost to the Hindus though it was so common in the country of their neighbours when Nūrjahān brought back the process of extraction from flowers, she was given the credit of introducing 'ITR (Perfume) in India from rose. But it would be more correct to say that Nūrjahān revived the lost art in India and retained the Persian name 'ITR which was a contraction of Atṛi अत्रि, the Indian author.

*Sāṁkhya* of Kapila was not translated from the original but from the commentary of Gaurapāda, the teacher of Śaṁkaracharya, though he had not mentioned the name of Gaurapāda. Al-Bīrūnī took only these portions of Kalpila which related to "the divine subjects." Al-Bīrūnī's *Sāṁkhya* is different from the SUTRAS. Al Bīrūnī's *Sāṁkhya* teaches *Moksha* (Liberation) of the individual by means of knowledge while the aphorisms (*Sutṛas*) teach the complete cessation of pain. Al Bīrūnī quoted a large number of illustration tables to explain the doctrines on the model of Gaurapāda.

Al-Bīrūnī told in the last paragraph of his preface that before the commencement of the *Kitāb-ul-Hind* he had translated *Sāṁkhya* which dealt with the *Origines* and with the description of all created beings, while Pataṇjali deals with emancipation of souls from the fetters of the body.

Of the original books written in Sanskrit by Al-Bīrūnī we have the following references:—

1. *Al Majasti*, Greek astrology.
2. Euclid's translation in Sanskrit.
3. Arab astronomy.
4. Arabic astrological chains.
5. Questions and answers between an Arabic astrologer and a Sanskrit astrologer.
6. Doubts of a Kashmiri scholar solved.

Sulaiman Nadvi in his *ARAB AUR HINDUSTĀN KE TA'ALLUQĀT* ( عرب اور هندوستان کے تعلقات ) has given some account of Al-Bīrūnī's works in Sanskrit ; but few of those works have been discovered, of course references and quatations are found from his own works which are co-related.

Total number of his works are about twenty in translation and original on Indian subjects.

It is peculiar that Al-Bīrūnī has not discussed the doctrines of Buddhism which he found written in Sanskrit. There is no doubt that the message of Buddha was carried to the western countries which are now known as Afghanisthan, Khorasan, Balkh, Iraq, Mosul, Syria, Arabia, and Palestine. The Indian *ṢRAMANS* had also preached the religion of Buddha in Tibet, China and Chinese Turkistan. There Buddhism is known as *Sāmānism* from the name of the preachers who are known as *Sāmāns*. Buddhism was supplanted by the religion of Zarathustra after it had been adopted by King *GUSHTASP* and his son ISPHANDIAR as state religion. In fact the combined efforts of the father and son spread Zoroastrianism from the border of frontier of China to the border of the Greek empire. Though Buddhism was no longer the religion of the common people there, yet there are traces of Buddhism in these lands in some form or other.[1]

In Arabic literature Buddhists have been known as Shamniya (follower of Śṛramana) and Al *Muḥammara* i.e. Red-robed because the Buddhist used red-robes ( रक्तकषाय ) and the idol was known as *But.*

In India, too, Buddhism lost its force from after Ṣaṁkarāchārya in the 8th century. But still there were many Buddhists in the country. There were many monasteries in the outskrits of India. One such was *Naw Bahar* (New monastery) in Balkh "whose flag could be seen from a distance of 100 *Kos* (200 miles) as has been told already. When Muḥammad Bin Qasim entered Sind from the side of Sijistān (Sakasthān) and conquered the cities of Brāhmanbad (Al-Mansura) and Mulasthān (Al Ma'mūra) he found red-robed monks i.e. Buddhists.[2] A[1]-Balbhadra says that the negotiators of the cities of Sind when the country was attacked by the Muslims, were invariably *Śṛamanas.*[3]

This clearly indicates that there were Buddhists in Sind during the first quarter of the 8th century (710 A.D.).[4]

Al-Bīrūnī does not mention anything about Buddhism in his book—though Abū'l Faẓl writing about 500 years after, gives a complete picture of the Buddhist philosophy.[5] Sachau wanted to explain this absence of references on Buddhism in Al Birūni, by saying that the people with whom he had opportunity of association in India were possibly Bṛāhmnical. His main centres of activity were Zābulistān and the Panjāb, where there were no Buddhists; even if there were any, they had not the courage to come

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[1] Islāmi word BUT بت meaning idol was possibly of Sanskrit root 'Bud' बुध from which Buddha has come, because in a degenerated state, idols of Buddha were worshipped by them

[2] *Kitāb-ul-Aghānī*—p. Vol. XVI, p. 14.

[3] *Fuṭuh il-Buldān* (Al Balaḍuri) p. 452.

[4] H. Keru. *Der Buddhismus and Seine Geschichte* in Indian Antiquary Vol. II, p. 543.

[5] A'īn-i-Akbarī, pp. 431, B.I. text

out in public as is known from the commentary of Iranshari by Zurqān.[1] Al-Bīrūnī wrote a very short note on Buddha as Buddodana which should be شدهودن son of *Suddhodan*. This mistake of name is due to Al-Bīrūnī's dependence on Zurqān who himself wrongly spelt the word.[2]

He mentioned a building erected by Kushāṇa king Kanishka in Peshawar called *Kanishka-caitya*.

Al-Bīrūnī regretted that he never found a suitable Buddhist from whom he could learn about Buddhistic tradition regarding ***Meru*** which was then supposed to have been the centre of the earth (p. 124). Incidentally he mentioned the feeling of animosity between a Buddhist and a Zoroastrian.

Al-Bīrūnī must be congratulated for his works on Sanskrit and Hindu culture. To appreciate fully his achievements, one must think of the many and great difficulties he had to overcome. He himself recounts in the first chapter of his *Kitab al-Hind*:—"Before entering on our exposition, we must form an adequate idea of that which renders it so particularly difficult to penetrate to the essential nature of any Indian subject. The knowledge of these difficulties will either facilitate the progress of our work, or serve as an apology for any shortcomings of our. . ."[3] There follows the enumeration of the main difficulties.

There was the religious prejudices of the Hindus which make them look on foreigners as impure (*mleccha*) and untouchable. There was a special antipathy for the Muslim whose armies had devasted North India and "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed there wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions"—the words are Al-Birūni's own, he refers to Mahmud of Ghazna's campaigns—"This is the reason why Hindu sciences have retired far away from these parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, to Banaras and other places."[4]

But greater perhaps than all these was the difficulty of the language. Al-Bīrūnī possessed little or no knowledge of Sanskrit to start with the studies on Indian subjects, though he had read some books on Indian astronomy from translations. He came to India when he was on the wrong side of forty. While in India, coming in touch with Sanskrit scholars he was convinced of the necessity of reading the original language and he began in right earnest the study of Sanskrit which he continued till the end. Though he did not attain as much knowledge of Sanskrit as he

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[1] *Zurqān*, Vol. 1, 7.

[2] Op cit., p. 432.

[3] AL-BIRUNI'S INDIA, transl. Ed. C. Sachau, Trubner's Edition (1914), p. 17.

[4] o.c. p. 22.

wished, yet it was no small credit on Al-Bīrūnī that he attempted to pursue his study for the mere love of it.

Lastly, he was not patronised by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and he regretted that without royal charity, science and scientists could not prosper. He was attached to court as *MUNAJJIM* (astrologer) of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. It was only after the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd that he had full facilities for pursuing his favourite subject and he dedicated his *Qanūn-i-Mas'ūdī* to Sulṭān Mas'ūd and not to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. It reflects no small achievement that the prisoner-astrologer had the tenacity to carry on his favourite studies under very unfavourable circumstances without complete freedom, without sufficient money and without sympathy.

His studies on India and on Indian religion and philosophy have not been followed by subsequent Arab scholars except by GARDIZĪ (A.D. 1049-1052) and by Muḥamad Ibn UQAIL (A.D. 1089-1099). One Rashīd ul-dīn has quoted Al-Bīrūnī's chapter on geography in his book on chronology. Since then there was a lull in the Arabic scholastic movement in the east owing to political uncertainty of the time. The Khilāfat of Baghdād decayed ; the Uthmānli Turks in the west and the Safavi's in the east supported the Turkish and Persian culture respectively, while the Arab scholars devoted themselves to theology proper. It was only at the time of Akbar the *Chaghtā'ī* ruler of India that we find an honest attempt to pursue, understand and write about Indian religion, philosophy and culture.

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# IRAN'S PRE-HISTORIC CIVILIZATION* AND AFTER

*By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris).*

JUST as in India the entire history of our ancient period had to be rewritten after the discovery of the Indus Civilisation, so the antiquity of Iran was pushed back, to remote millennia B.C., since the scientific explorations in sites like Susa and Persepolis. The current of Chalcolithic culture might have flown through diverse channels from Sind and Baluchistan (as Stein and Piggot have tried to demonstrate) to Elam and Summer—or vice versa.

In 1850—just a century ago—W. K. Loftus identified the ancient city of Susa (3000-2000 B.C.) capital of Biblical Susiana—which I had the pleasure to traverse from one end to the other while passing from Ahwas—once on the Persian Gulf--to Central Iran, in a car, watching the changes in landscape and human physiognomy. In 1897 Jacques Morgan, the French archaeologist, began exploring Susiana and publishing reports (1899-1906), following up the work of M. Dieulafoy in 1884.

According to Dr. Hall, the proto-Dravidian Indus Civilisation—now linked up with Sumerian—might have left a colony in Elam on the way. The Elamites also spoke an agglutinative language, replaced by Semitic speech when Sargon of Akkad conquered Elam in 2800 B.C. But the Elamites invaded Semitic Babylon in 2280 B.C. and took away the image of Nane from Erech.

The Kassite kings of Babylon captured Elam in 1339 B.C. and the Elamites retaliated in 1220 B.C., removing the wonderful sculptured Stalae of Naram Sin as well as the Stone pillar recording the famous code of Hammurabi (1950 B.C.); and both these rare objects found their place in the National Museum (Louvre) of Paris, which visitors from all parts of the world flock to see.

## TEHERAN MUSEUM

The National Museum of Teheran—which I surveyed closely—opens a new window on Western Asian art and archaeology, taking us beyond the Chalcolithic zones from the Indus to the Sumero-Elamite regions. No metal tools but flint and obsidian implements have been found, with baked clay potteries, beads etc. Prof. Donald E. McCown (University of Chicago) explored many such ancient sites and objects and wrote a valuable book—"The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran" (1941). It is now generally admitted that some of the earliest culures were located in North-Eastern

** By kind permission of Dr. Kalidas Nag from his work *'India and the Middle East'* now in the Press.

Iran which merges into the western limits of our Indus civilisation. Thus, in the very remote pre-Aryan period also, the formula "Indo-Iranian" now assumes a new significance.

Two French archaeologists—Contenau and Grishman—have made valuable contributions and D. H. Frankfort gave a comparative survey in his studies in "Early Pottery of the Near East" (1924) and other essays. Thus Herzfeld's "Iran in the Ancient East" (1941) and "Archaeological History of Iran"—published in 1934—must now be supplemented by more recent finds from field work done especially by American scholars—among whom, I must mention Prof. G. Cameron who published in 1948 "The Treasury Tablets of Elam" showing how Persian loan-words had entered into the ancient Elamite texts.

Thus when I flew, in the Iranian plane "Ecbatana", towards Shiraz and thence entered Persepolis, my mind travelled many centuries beyond the medieaval Persian poet Hafez (14 Cen. A.D.) or Darius the Achemenian (6 Cen. B.C.). For the archaeologists have revealed ever so many documents of much greater antiquity ; and Iranian finds must now be studied with constant reference to Iraqi Sumeria on the one hand and Indus Valley on the other side. Terracotta objects, with fish and bird motifs, have been found in the fields of Persepolis—going back to 3000-2500 B.C. From there to Damghan, Gurgan and Azerbaijan (North Iran), art-objects are being found and dated (3000-1000 B.C.). Then we notice the vases and bronze objects from Luristan (1500-1000 B.C.) which belong in date to our later Vedic epoch. Our dear old friend Prof. Pourre Daud, is training a new generation of Iranian philologists who, with the co-operation and guidance of Dr. Kunhan Raja, are studying Vedic and Avestan texts with great ardour. But how many of our Indian Universities have awakened to the need of such a comparative study of the cultures of our two countries—close neighbours through ages?

Like Susa, another ancient site of Kashan (Tepe Siyalk) which I traversed—on our way through Qum—has yielded most valuable objects which. with those from other sites, lead to a definite conclusion that in the 2nd mill. B.C. (2000-1000 B.C.) these objects were used by an Indo-European people who migrated from the North-East (Hindukush) regions, and penetrated Iran whence they advanced further westward (via Mesopotamia) towards Asia Minor (Mitanno-Hittite regions) and the Aegio-Egyptian world.

The Aryan language-speaking Hittites and Mitannis (whom I remembered while visiting their Boghaz Koi sites in Anatolia), have also left many art-objects and tools in Iran on the way. The Teheran Museum shows a bronze axe and gold dagger of 1055-1200 B.C.; and to that epoch has been assigned the wonderful Hittite Golden Goblet with the figure of "three lions" in repousse work. This "Three Lion" motif will appear later in Achemenian Art and finally on the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka who gave us our national symbol of Free India.

Many valuable objects in the galleries of Teheran and other museums of Iran reminded me of the prevalence of the Vedic-Avestan rituals, "fire cult" and Sun worship. I paid my silent homage to Rishi Zarathustra (a contemporary of our sage Yajnavalkya) whose mother's city Rayy (near Teheran) I visited. So I feel strongly that our Vedic and Zoroastrian scholars of India should raise a special fund to send every year, batches of Indian scholars to explore the historic sites and monuments—all along that East-West route of migration from the Indus Valley, *via* Iran and Iraq, to the Nile Valley and the Mediterranean world—so well-known to Asoka in the Third Century B.C.

In Tepe Giyan (Nihavand) and other ancient sites explored in the mountainous regions of Western Persia, bordering on ancient Assur,—objects of Chalcolithic culture have been found ; and in the same area the ancestors of the Indo-European Medes and Persians left traces of their early appearance (2 mill. B.C.). Some scholars are now of opinion that the Indo-Iranians or Aryans invaded Iran (c 2000 B.C.) from the north-east so close to the Indus Valley. The Iranian Plateau—we must remember,—extends from the mountains, east of the Tigris to the Indus Valley, and from the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf to the Caspian and the Jaxartes River. Thus Iran again appears to be the link between the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley cultures.

The great explorer Sir Aurel Stein conducted surveys of diverse sites between Shiraz and Kermanshah from Nov. 1935 to Oct. 1936 ; and I had the privilege of discussing the results of that tour, with Dr. Stein's Persian Secretary—Dr. Bahman Karimi—who has published a big book in Persian on the subject of the "Ancient routes of Iran". Stein, an expert in Indian archaeology, attempted, before his death, to link up the ancient cultures of Iran, Sistan and the Indus Valley.

Prof. Pigott—ten years later—continued that line of research from the Indus Valley, through north and south Beluchistan to Iran—as graphically presented in his 'Prehistoric India'.

The pottery sequences of ancient Iran and Iraq compared with their corresponding designs and patterns, have engaged the attention of experts for over half a century, as attested by the monumental French publications of Dieulafoy and Morgan, and by the well-illustrated history of Persian Art by Prof. A. U. Pope and his American colleagues. The terra cotta, bronze and other art-objects from ancient Iran will help us in concretizing the purely literary and somewhat abstract description of Aryan life and Brahmanical civilisation in the Vedic texts (2000-1000 B.C.).

Old Vedic and Sanskrit literature are being studied in right earnest by the Iranian philologists under the inspiration of Prof. Pour-e Davoud, and his colleagues of the Teheran University. They have already formed their own ideas about Avesta—the Iranian counterpart of the Vedas ; and some "purists" among the Iranian scholars—like Prof. Naficy and Prof. Moghad-dam—have compiled glossaries and lexicons to explain anew the formation

of Persian words and pharases in terms of the ancient Indo-Iranian authentic texts rather than accepting the theological Islamic interpretations of them from later Arabic sources. Indian Universities and academies should keep in close touch with the scholars of this neo-Iranian school and exchange publications with them.

They are of opinion that the Indo-Sumerian culture was proto-Aryan and that the Aryans of Iran and India came in due time to absorb and enrich it—just as it has been argued by Prof. Pusalkar in the recent book "The Vedic Age." Travelling in different parts of Iran I felt as if I was moving on Vedic fields with the snowy Dimavend range (19,000 ft.) dominating the vast landscape of Nature ;—just as our Himavat ever flashed through the writings of the Vedic and Epic poets of India. On my return from Iran, I had the pleasure of receiving a precious gift from my friend Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala who then published his magnum opus, *"The Divine Songs of Zarathustra."* It will help generations of scholars from India and Iran, to prepare themselves for further researches into the religion, philosophy, mythology and linguistics of the Indo-Iranian families professing Vedic and Avestan religion and culture.

The Indian and Iranian cousins must have spent together long epochs and got separated (c. 1500 B.C.) into two different countries ; but they had a common frontier and common moral and religious concepts like the Vedic *rita*—Iranian Urta or Asha as the inflexible order of the universe symbolized by the Yama (= Yema: Iran); the Yajna (Ir. Yasna) or sacrifice, the sacred drink Soma (Ir: haoma) etc., prove a common ancestral tradition. From 9th Cen. B.C. we hear of the Aryan Medes under Assyria ; and the founder of the Median Empire Cyaxeres (625-593 B.C.) destroyed Nineveh, conquered the East-Assyrian territory and Urartu or Armenia.

## ZOROASTRIANISM

Cyrus the great (550-530 B.C.) conquered Media, Syria and Babylonia—thus founding the vast Persian Empire, extending from the Indus to the Mediterranian and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean. In this epoch was born the great founder of Zoroastrianism: Rishi Zarathustra, whom I saluted silently from many places in north-Iran associated with his memory and that of his mother. He liberated fresh religious zeal, reformed the cruder Median religion of magic and preached monotheism and salvation of all through the performance of duty. He waged perpetual war against the Evil Spirit Ahriman or *angrominyu,* for the victory of the Lord of Wisdom, Ahura Mazda. Darius I (521-485 B.C.) was definitely Zoroastrian who conquered the whole ancient world from Sind to Greece, and built royal residences at Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana (Hamadan) and Babylon.

I watched over his historic inscriptions and rock-cut tombs, along with those of his son, Xerxes I (485-465) and grand-son Artaxerxes I (465-429). When in 331 B.C. Darius III (366-30 B.C.) lost the Persian Empire to Alexander, the latter reunited the history of Iran and India in the orbit of

known history. I was awfully shocked to witness the disastrous result of Alexander's incendiarism on the magnificent monuments of Persepolis which, even in its ruins, will convince any Indian archaeologist that one cannot fully understand the Mauryan and early Graeco-Buddhist art without reference to Persepolitan art and architecture. The ground plan and ruins of the "Thousand Pillared" Hall, the colossal bulls and lions, the rock-cut shrines and pillar-cult etc. of the Achemenian empire, stimulated similar art-motifs and movements in Buddhists India.

The 'successor' kingdoms of the Selucids (stretching from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and India), of the Arsacids (Parthia) and of the Bactrians, kept India in close contact with the West—from 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.—developing Graeco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art-cycles. The neo-Persian empire of the Sassanians (226—651 A.D.), linked up the art and culture of the later Roman Empire with those of India, Central Asia and China, brilliantly illustrated by the archaeological finds of an international team of explorers, who worked in pre-Islamic Afghanistan, Khotan, Serindia and China.

During the centuries when the Western Roman Empire collapsed under attacks from the Teutonic Barbarians, and when Constantine and his successors developed Constantinople as the new capital of the Eastern (Byzantine) Roman Empire, the great Sassanian Emperors (226-651 A.D.) shone brilliantly as champions of Asia, scoring several victories against the Roman emperors. Defeating the last Parthian King, the first Sassanian Emperor Ardashir (226-40) conquered Merv, Balkh (Bactria) and Khiva. He also is supposed to have invaded India and levied tributes on the Punjab and received submission not only of the chief of Makran and Turan, but also of the Kushan Kings of North-West India. Ardashir gave a strongly centralised government to the Persian nation, supported by the revival of Zoroastrianism and Pehlevi language in which commentaries to the sacred Zend Avesta were composed, edited and collected under Arda Viraf. Ardashir summoned Rome to evacuate Syria and the rest of Asia and defeated Alexander Severus who concluded peace. Then Shapur I became Emperor (240-71), invaded Roman Syria and annexed Mesopotamia. Peace was concluded when Emperor Gordon was murdered ; but Shapur declared his second war against Rome, took Nisibis, Edessa and Antioch and finally secured Emperor Valerian as his captive.

## TRIUMPH OF ASIA

This historic triumph of Asia over the Roman West was brilliantly sculptured on the lower slopes of the rock of Naksh-i-Rustam which I visited, after paying my homage to the tombs of Darius I and his successors. I saw Emperor Shapur I on his grand charger like a Mahabharata hero receiving the homage of his vanquished enemy Valerian in bended knees surrendering his arms. Valerian died in captivity (266) and Shapur founded the city of Nishapur famous later on through association with Firdausi,

Omar Khayyam and other Persian celebrities. Mani (215-213) the founder of Manichaeism, flourished in Shapur's time and this new religion got mixed up with primitive Christianity, Nestorianism and Mahayana Buddhism which penetrated Parthia, Central Asia and China.

Within four centuries from these heydays of Sassanian glory, the Arabs swept the horizon of the Middle East and in 642 the last Sassanian King Yazdigird III was defeated by the Arabs at Nahawand, and was murdered (651).

## ISLAMIC IRAN

With the advent of Islam, we witness the end of the 'Classical' and emergence of the mediaeval period in the history of the East and the West. Islam had its birth in Arabia ; but in spite of the fact of (1) 'Arabic' being the sacred language of Islam, we notice two other very important branches of Islamic culture ; (2) the 'Iranian' or Persian and (3) the 'Turco-Mongolian' stretching from the Pacific to the Mediterranean world. As in the case of the Hellenized Romans, conquering Greece, so were the conquering Arabs Persianized by vanquished Iran. The golden age of the Caliphate was marked by the reign of Mamum whose mother as well as wife were Persians. The Achemenian idea of world Empire, and the cosmopolitan culture of the Sassanians, were the assets of the Arab pioneers of Islam.

Two other peaks of mediaeval culture were reached ; one, in the 10th-11th centuries, under the Persian Samanid dynasty of Samarqand, Bokhara and Khorasan, the cradle of modern Persian literature represented by Rudagi the blind poet bard, Dakiki, the Zoroastrian epic poet, and finally Firdausi, the immortal author of Shah Nameh at the court of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan was the patron of the Persian 'savant' Abu Rayhan Al-Beruni who wrote the *'Chronology of the Ancient Nations'* and laid all Indian scholars under special obligation by writing his 'Indica' (2 vols.), a monument of comparative study in Indian, Islamic and Hellenic sciences and cultures.

Mahmud invited also to his court Avicenna ; but the latter preferred to work in the humble but more refined court of the Ziyarids and produced books on medicine, philosophy and education which were the most consulted text-books in European Universities, till the 17th century. India was proud to celebrate the 1000 year anniversary of Firdausi and Al-Beruni* and recently also joined Iran and the scientific world to organize the grand Avicenna

* The Iran Society, Calcutta held the Millenary Celebrations of Al-Beruni in 1952 and published a monumental work entitled as, *'Al-Beruni Commemoration Volume.'* Preparations are afoot to have similar celebrations for Avicenna also in the near future by the same Society. I had the pleasure and privilege to mention to many learned societies of the middle East, the grand cultural contributions of the Iran Society of Calcutta and of its valuable Journal. I express my gratitude to the Society and its devoted Founder-Society Dr. M. Ishaque for publishing my article.

KALIDAS NAG

Celebration in honour of Master Avicenna, the living encyclopaedia of Asian science and culture.

The next peak of Persian art and culture was reached under the Safavi dynasty of Ispahan which, under the Timurids and the Safavis, was the cultural capital of Western Asia in the 16-17th centuries. I felt the fascination of Ispahan the more as I came there, after a month's stay in the dazzling modernism of Teheran. I found the bazar of Ispahan even superior to the bazars of Cairo or Peking, by way of displaying living samples of original arts and crafts displayed there. Persian painting like the Chinese, grew out of the art of calligraphy and in Ispahan, with its rare manuscripts and superb designs on the multicoloured mosques, I felt a living communion with the artists.

Almost on the borders of India and Afghanistan, Hussein Mirza (d. 1506) of the Timurid dynasty founded an academy in Herat (whence Babur Mirza entered India) where flourished Mirkhond the historian, Bihzad the painter and Jami the last of the great classical poets. Shah Ismail, founder of the Safavi dynasty made Shiaism the State religion from his capital in Tabriz where, later on, Humayun was received by Ismail's son Shah Tahmasp I (1524-76) who was followed by Shah Abbas (1587-1629) contemporaries of Akbar, Elizabeth, Charles V and Suleman the Magnificent.

I was fortunate to be the guest of the learned Director of Antiquities in Ispahan and he not only showed me the "Humayun-Tahmasp interview" in the wall-paintings but also other valuable things in the historic Palace. He requested me to encourage some learned societies of India to come to make a comparative study of the paintings of Iran and India under the Safavi and the Mughul rulers. He read with me portions of a rare book —written by M. Hassan Khan (Sanieddowleh), Mirat-ul-Boldane Nasserie (4 vols.) which gives most graphic description of the grand reception accorded by Shah Tahmasp to the exiled emperor Humayun who took refuge in Iran, four centuries before my visit. Humayun was defeated (May 1540) and driven out of India by Sher Shah. He spent 15 years of his painful exile in Sindh, Afghanistan and Iran till 1547 when, with the help of Shah Tahmasp I, he captured Kandahar (1547) and Kabul whence he re-entered India and occupied Lahore (1554) and Delhi 1555 July).

Before his accidental death (January, 1556), Humayan invited some noted artists from Persia and thus laid the foundation of the 'Indo-Persian-school' of arts and crafts brilliantly illustrated by the miniature paintings of the so-called "Mughal School". This creative collaboration continued for nearly a century, under the patronage of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan whose Taj Mahal was completed in 1657.

The next century, terminating with the Battle of Plassey (1757) and of Panipat (1761), saw the decline and fall of the Mughul Empire when Nadir Shah (1736-47) invaded India (1739). The Peacock Throne and the

Kohinoor, etc. carried away by him to Persia, were valued roughly at 119 millions by an European reporter.

Two hundred years after the death of Nadir Shah whose 'souvenirs' I found in different parts of Iran--the first Asian Relations Conference was invited to Delhi (1947) by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru who by his magnetic personality, lifted the Conference far above mere discussions to the plane of a spiritual Federation of all Asia, after ages. Maulana Azad, Honourable Minister of Education, soon organized the Indian Council for Cultural Relations both for the Western and the Eastern Asian nations. During our recent cultural mission in the Middle East, we found the warmest welcome from the Iranian Ministry of Education, and especially from Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi, the learned Chancellor of the University of Teheran, which conferred Doctorate 'Honoris Causa' on Maulana Azad when he visited the capital of Iran. So we hope that Free India will take all steps to revive our age-old cultural relations with Iran.

# THE PERSIAN SCENE

*by V. Courtois s.j.*

## I. POLITICS

*National Movement Front in Bahrain.*—A private letter recently received from Bahrain Island indicates that a National Movement Front has recently come into being in the Iranian Island of Bahrain. The Front, which is sponsored by Iranians living in the island, is working underground against the "usurper", the Sheikh of Bahrain.

*General Zahedi to Visit America.*—The American Government has extended an invitation to General Zahedi to visit that country. It is now learned that Premier Zahedi has accepted the invitation, but he has postponed the visit to America until sometimes during the next fall.

*Mossadeq's Laws Declared Invalid.*—The Justice Committee of the Majlis approved the motion concerning the abolition of Dr. Mossadeq's laws introduced under his plenary powers. The Justice Committee added a supplementary clause to the motion. According to the supplementary clause any one who may seek plenary powers from the Majlis will be subjected to 2 to 10 years imprisonment.

*Prohibition Law.*—Foreign correspondents in Teheran have given much prominence to the decision of Iran to enforce a prohibition drive in the country. The text of the prohibition law was published in the press. In their despatches to their centres foreign correspondents have stated that this decision has been widely commented on by Teheran circles. Religious quarters have already supported the government decision to enforce prohibition throughout the country. However, the government quarters believe that the country cannot go on dry so easily as it will render thousands of people now working in distilleries unemployed. A Government quarter disclosed that over 10 thousand workers were working in distilleries at present.

*U.S. New Moves in Iran.*—The American military missions in the Middle East have been directed to determine important strategic places in these countries and try to strengthen them. The recent visit of General Mcklor, head of the American military mission in Iran and the U.S. Ambassador Mr. Henderson to the Iranian province of Kurdistan can well be the prelude to new American military plans in Iran.

*Moscow Keeps Sharp Eye on U.S. Moves.*—An American Military aid mission headed by Maj.-Gen. Russell, head of the Foreign Aid section of the U.S. Army, is now in Iran.

The mission includes three other American Army officers.

It is said that Gen. Russell is studying the military situation in Iran in order to ascertain the scope and nature of war equipment for the Iranians.

Moscow has already taken sharp note of the visit of the American mission and connects it with American efforts to link Iran with the Turco-Pakistan alliance and create a Middle East bloc.

Maj.-Gen. Russell has had several meetings with Iran's Defence Minister, Gen. Hedayat, Gen. Batmanghlich, the Iranian Chief of General Staff, and other Iranian Army officials.

*American Military Aid to Iran.*—After a series of talks between Iranian and American officials, the latter have come to the conclusion that public opinion in Iran favours the idea of Iran joining the Middle East Defence Organization. The American Government have now decided to increase their military aid to Iran and it is anticipated that military assistance to Iran for the current year will be increased from 28 to 40 million dollars. It has also been suggested that military missions should be exchanged between Iran, Pakistan and Turkey with a view to acquaint officers of the three countries with modern weapons.

*Close Watch on Iranian "Weddings".*—Iranian security forces are strictly checking all wedding receptions in the country as a result of the discovery that one in Teheran had been a cloak for a meeting of the outlawed Tudeh (Communist) Party.

The Party was banned in 1943. Fictitious weddings are only one of several manoeuvres it has used to outwit the authorities.

The Police swooped on a "wedding reception" recently and questioned the 26-year-old "bride" and 379 "guests".

Later, they released all but 32 men and eight women, who are being held for trial.

The War Minister, Major-General Abdullah Hayayat, told the Majlis on July 1 that his Department was fully aware of Tudeh tactics. Counter-measures had been prepared.

Weddings are not included in a martial law ban on gatherings of more than three persons.

*Special Salaam Held.*—On the occasion of 'Idu'l-Fitr' a special ceremony was held at the White Palace in the presence of H.I.M. the Shah. Members of the Cabinet, standing Committees of the Majlis and Senate and heads of diplomatic missions of the Muslim countries attended the Salaam.

After thanking them for their congratulations His Imperial Majesty referred to his land distribution programme and said:

"Reports received from abroad indicate that the programe has been lauded by foreigners and they have shown special interest in the news reports regarding our land distribution programe. Now that the Government has also decided to follow this example by preparing a land distribution programe the Parliament should co-operate with the government in this direction so that the programe of land distribution may be carried out in a satisfactory manner".

*Soviet Government to Return Iranian Gold.*—In an interview with Mr. Hamid Sayah, leader of Iranian delegation to Iran-Soviet Joint Commission for the settlement of outstanding issues between the two countries, made the following statement:

"The Soviet delegation has all along been demonstrating goodwill towards the settlement of boundary and financial issues between Iran and the Soviet Union. This can be proved from the fact that negotiations between the two delegations have not been blocked. I am meeting the Soviet Ambassador from time to time to continue talks on these issues. The government and Majlis have been apprised of these talks between me and the Soviet Ambassador. We, however, preferred not to disclose to the press the place and date of these meetings so that the persistent correspondents may not approach us every now and then and publish contradictory reports about our talks.

"The Soviet Government have agreed to return our 11 tons of gold now detained in Moscow Bank. As for their dollar liabilities to Iran which amount to about 8 million dollars, the Soviet Government have agreed to settle this account through supplying to Iran goods worth 8 million dollars at international rates".

*Shah Urges for Anti-Tudeh Campaign.*—Deputies of the Majlis were received in audience at the Sa'adabad Palace. Addressing the gathering His Majesty said: "A treacherous plot against our very existence and independence was about to reach its final stage last year. The farce and unconstitutional referendum were a part of this plot. If that situation was allowed to continue the country had to face a number of other problems such as disintegration of the country. Such events were not rare in other parts of the world such as Korea. No one has the right to say that he saved the country. It was the blessing of Almighty that saved our country from the danger of extermination.

"We must choose positive nationalism as our political doctrine. The Uprising of 19th August derived inspiration from the same true nationalism. You observed how the people of Iran eliminated a group who had deserted the national movement within a short period of one week that I was away from the country. These developments prove that the days of demagogues are over and the people of Iran will never allow them to appear on the scene once again.

"All groups must adopt a common policy in matters of foreign policy of the Government. You are well aware that in all other countries political parties adopt a common policy in matters of foreign policy irrespective of their political differences. For instance in England and Turkey where Opposition groups are present, the Governments enjoy the support of all parties in matters of foreign policy.

"As regards our internal policy, we have to take into consideration two

main issues (1) anti-Tudeh campaign and (2) fight against corruption. Both the issues endanger our independence.

"Communism is not only against our religion, but also endangers our independence because its followers do not believe in the independence of our country. We, however, treat these elements according to law", declared the Shah.

*The Persian Army and the Tribes.*—The tribes of Iran have always in the course of centuries played an important part in the maintenance of the integrity of the country. It suffices to recall the role they played during the last war in the defence of Iranian sovereignty, to be convinced of their national importance.

The asset they were to the country was, however, not always fully appreciated in the past. But recent investigations and the gradual regrouping of anti-communist forces on the outer side of the iron curtain have directed the attention of those in authority to the geographical importance of tribal territories ; measures have been taken to improve the lot of those tribes and to set them on the way to progress.

According to the most reliable statistics—although these are not quite complete—the tribal population of Iran would amount to approximately four million people.

In the Eastern part of *AZERBAIDJAN* the principal tribe is the one of the *Shahsavand* of Turkish origin. It groups some 19,000 families at the feet of the Savalan Hills. They are semi-nomads and change territory twice a year, in Summar and in Winter.

The *Arsavan* tribe counts 6,000 families.

The chiefs of these two tribes, with the exception of two or three, remained faithful to the Central Government throughout the Azerbaidjan incidents, the Pichevari democratic movement and the occupation of their territory by foreign forces. These tribes, to which may be added the 800 families of the *Khalkhal* tribes would form a powerful bulwark along the northan frontiers of Iran provided they be properly armed and trained in modern warfare.

Western AZERBAIDJAN and KURDISTAN there are many Kurdish tribes.

1. The *Djalali* tribes with 19,000 families divided into ten branches.

2. The *Djailan* tribes numbering 1,400 families divided into nine main branches

3. The *Chakkak* tribes living near the town of Khoy and grouping some 6,000 families among, its 20 branches.

4. The *Rezaieh* tribes counting only 141 families and 6 branches.

5. The *Mahabad* tribes divided only in 8 branches but reaching the number of 21,700 families.

6. The *Saghez* tribes with 4,600 families divided into 6 branches.

7. The *Baneh* tribes divided in 4 branches only and numbering 3,364 families.

8. The *Sardashte* tribes counting 5 branches and 455 families.

Among the tribes living along the Iran-Iraq frontiers may be mentioned the *Kalantaran*, the *Uraman*, the *Tart*, the *Kamiaran*, the *Khaliaghi* and the *Mandumi*.

In the *Kermanshah* region are found the *Kurd Babakhanis*, the Kurd *Velabaghi* counting between 8 and 900 families, the *Ghobadi* tribe with 1,200 families, the *Sandjabi* tribe with 325 families . . .

In KHUZISTAN the tribes comprise a strong Arab element. The main tribes are the *Shadeghan* and *Kab*. The tribes in the region of Khorram-shahar count approximately 12,000 families and those of Dachte Michan about 6,500 families.

In the eastern part of Khuzistan the *Kahkiluya* tribe groups 17,000 families.

In FARS are found the most important tribes of Iran ; they number about 200,000. The turkish tribe of the *Qashqai* with its 12 branches is the most numerous ; them comes the tribe of *Khamseh* with 5 branches and the Dashti tribe with 4 branches.

In KIRMAN the tribes are divided in 43 groups numbering about 54,000 souls. But the six tribes of the Abbassi region number 300,000, the 18 tribes of Sirdjan 40,000.

In KHORASAN and GORGAN live turcomen tribes. The main ones are: the *Qaramanlu* with 1,500 families, the *Tupctanlu* with 2,000 families, the *Kudanlu* with 500 families, the *Taymuri* with 12,000 families, the *Khavari* with 20,000 families. The other tribes may make up some 9,000 families more.

In MAZDERAN the tribes form an interesting group but they may be less useful from the military point of view.

In the region of ISPAHAN the leading tribe is the one of the *Bakhtiari* which count 60,000 families. The tribe has played an important part in the struggle for the Iranian constitution and the safeguard of Iranian independence. They speak a language akin to Kurdish.

This short survey shows the military importance of the tribes for the defence of Iran.

(*Bakhtiar, Tehran*)

## 2. ECONOMICS

*Iran-American Joint Commission Meeting.*—Recently the Iran-American joint Commission met and approved several new project agreements. The meeting was attended by Ministers of Agriculture, the National Economy, Health and Education as well as Point Four Director, William Warne.

According to the preliminary agreement, a sum of $280,000 was made available for Iran which should be used for the purchase of cement. According to another project agreement approved, a sum of $100,000 was alloted for the improvement of roads and bridges which have been damaged by recent floods.

Another project agreement provides for the development and protection of forests throughout the country.

The meeting of Joint Commission also discussed the report of Ministry of Education concerning health insurance of Iranian students in America.

*Free Aid to Iran.*—The American Government made available for Iran a sum of 9 million dollars as free aid. An agreement to this effect was signed on May 25 by Finance Minister Dr. Amini and Governor of Bank Melli Naser on behalf of Iran and William Warne, Point Four Director, on behalf of U.S. Government.

The Government will sell the new dollars to importers and the rials earned through the sale of 9 million dollars will be used for budget deficit.

A well informed source close to the American Embassy in Teheran disclosed that during the next financial year the U.S. Government will extend to Iran more free aids.

*Technical Aid Results.*—The Point Four Director in Iran, William, Warne, delivered a speech at the Iran-American Society in the course of which he reviewed what he described "impressive achievements" of the technical co-operation programe in Iran.

"The United States Operation Mission (Point Four) to Iran is nearing the end of its fourth fiscal year of a programe of technical co-operation with Iran for which more than 71,218,000 dollars has been made available by the United States since the start of the planning period in 1951. In addition, since last September, the United States has provided considerable special aid to enable the Government of Iran to meet the costs of essential operations," said Mr. Warne.

*Land Distribution Programe.*—The Information Section of the Pahlevi Estates Department has recently published a book entitled, "The Shah and people" which contains detailed information regarding H.I.M. the Shah's land distribution programe. The book which is in English language also provides the reader with a comprehensive background of the activities of Development Bank for the rehabilitation of distributed lands.

*Iran-Soviet Talks.*—A government quarter disclosed that negotiations are being under way between the Iranian and Soviet representatives for conclusion of a new arrangement providing for the sale of fisheries products of Soviet Union. Soviet representatives have submitted new proposals for the purchase of fish from Iran.

Iran has supplied to Russia the fish products worth 1,257,000 rials ever since the nationalization of fishery industry in the country. The Soviet

authorities have refused to import fishery from Iran on the basis of previous agreement.

*Trade Agreement with USSR signed.*—A new trade agreement between Iran and Soviet Union was signed in Teheran. According to the new agreement the volume of trade between the two countries has been considerably increased. It provides for the exchange of goods worth two milliard and two hundred million rials between the two countries.

Speaking at the ceremony the Minister of National Economy, Dr. Shadman who signed the agreement on behalf of Iran, said that with the mutual friendship and goodwill already existing, the trade relations between the two countries have now reached a new stage.

*Agreement with British Firm Signed.*—An agreement providing for the purchase of 100 thousand tons of steel rail from the British United Steel Company was signed in Teheran. Mr. Panahi, Managing Director of Plan Organisation signed the agreement on behalf of Iran while Mr. George Bini signed on behalf of the British firm. The rails will be used for completion of railroads between Shahrud and Meshed as well as Mianeh and Tabriz. The first shipment of the rails will be made sometime during the next October.

*Iran will Buy U.K. Tractors.*—Iran, on June 15, signed a three-year contract to buy 1,000 British tractors and other agricultural goods worth £160,000.

This is the first order since the resumption of the Anglo-Iranian diplomatic relations, broken off over the oil nationalization.

Deliveries are due to start in a few weeks under the order which will last three years on a credit basis.

*Iranian Oil from October Likely.*—Iran's major problem—pumping up the "liquid gold" from the earth—is almost settled, and the industry that has been idle for the last three years, will spring to life again when the Majlis, some time in October, ratifies the new agreement reached between Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Legal and technical advisers of the Iranian Government and eight-company oil consortium are now at work drawing up the oil agreement for signature by both parties. The agreement will then be submitted to Iran's parliament, the Majlis, for ratification.

Under the agreement, Iran will handle all administrative matters and the consortium will handle all technical matters regarding exploitation and marketing.

The oil produced will be sold in bulk to the consortium, except for a small quantity reserved by the Government to meet commitments already entered into independently as with Japan, for sale on the world markets.

To meet Iran's domestic needs, the consortium has agreed to sell its produce at cost price plus a 1% profit margin.

*Foreign Sales.*—On foreign sales by the consortium, Iran's net income from every ton of crude oil sold will be £2. She will also get 2 sh. 6d. for every ton of oil refined in the Abadan refineries as refining charges.

Under the agreement, which runs for 30 years, the consortium has agreed to produce 13 million tons of oil in the first year. In the second year, production will be increased to a minimum of 23 million tons and in the third year, the minimum will be close to 30 million tons.

The consortium will pay for the oil at current Persian Gulf prices—$1.7 per barrel.

Iran has delined to give any discount on the minimum stipulated productions of 13, 23 and 30 million tons in the first, second and third years of working. On the first seven million tons of excess production over the minima, the consortium will get a 5% discount on current prices, on the second seven million 7½% and on the third seven million 10%.

With the re-opening of the industry, it is estimated that Iran is assured of a minimum revenue of £250 million by the third year.

*Compensation.*—Dr. Ali Amini, Iran's Finance Minister and chief Iranian negotiator, told Pressmen on Sunday 1st August that payment of compensation would begin within ten years following the first three years of operation of the Iranian company.

The compensation, he said, would take into account a small refinery at Kermanshah, which the new National Iranian Oil Company will operate exclusively for domestic oil markets, and the losses suffered by the A.I.O.C. during the last three years.

The consortium agreement will be called the "Purchase and State of Oil Agreement."

*Agreement with Consortium.*—In a joint statement released in Washington, on August 5th, the Iranian Government and the consortium announced that large volumes of Iranian oil would begin to flow from the great oil port at Abadan and Bandar Mashur when the boards of directors of the oil companies and Iran had given the agreement final approval in about two months.

As part of the agreement the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the former concessionary, will receive net compensation of £25 million, payable over ten years starting in January 1957.

Britain is immediately removing restrictions on payments between Iran and the sterling area imposed at the start of the oil dispute in September 1951.

All payments arising out of oil transactions are to be settled in sterling and Britain is to give Iran full facilities.

The joint announcement said that preparations for resumption of oil production on a large scale would begin at once. Two operating companies would be formed to operate the oilfields and refinery. These companies

would be organized by the consortium, one dealing primarily with exploration and production and the other with refining.

The companies would be registered in Iran and have their operating headquarters there. They would be incorporated under the laws of the Netherlands. There would be seven directors in each company two to be named by Iran and five by the consortium.

The consortium was expected to consist of the Gulf Oil Corporation, Socony Vacuum Oil Company Incorporated, Standard Oil Company of California, Texas Company, Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Compagnie Francaise de Petrole and Royal Dutch Shell.

The agreement covers a period of 25 years with provisions for three 5-year extensions.

It was estimated that Iran would derive a total income during the first three full years of £150 million on the basis of present price and costs. Iran would receive this income through payments to the National Iranian Oil Company and application of Iranian tax laws.

After a starting up period of three months, the joint announcement said, Iran's production of crude oil would increase progressively to a total export of crude oil and products to a minimum of 80 million cubic metres (68 million tons) for the first three-year period. An additional 5 million cubic metres would be available for internal consumption.

*Trade Treaty Between Iran and India.*—His Excellency Mr. A. A. Hekmat, the Ambassador of Iran in India, who is at present in Teheran, has recently taken active steps with a view to concluding a Treaty of Trade between Iran and India. Accordingly he (H.E. the Iranian Ambassador), Their Excellencies the Iranian Minister for National Economy, Dr. Tara Chand, Indian Ambassador in Iran and Dr. Abdo, Director-General of the Political Section of the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had a meeting and held discussions regarding the trade relations of the two countries, as well as the conclusion of an Indo-Iranian Trade Treaty. The purpose of the aforesaid negotiations and discussions is the strengthening of commercial ties between Iran and India as early as possible, through a Trade Pact which is proposed to be signed in Teheran, and the defining of the manner of the exchange of goods and commercial transactions. The possibilities for according facilities and withdrawing disabilities too were taken into consideration.

*Increased Trade with Japan.*—Japan is trying to regain her pre-war position in Iran. At present a number of high ranking Japanese officials are in Iran to prepare ground for increased trade between the two countries.

Mr. Savaki of Japanese Foreign Office had several meetings with Iranian officials in preparation for the conclusion of a new trade agreement on barter basis. It is not yet known whether oil will be included in the items of commodities to be exchanged between the two countries.

A well informed government quarter disclosed that Japan had great

desire for the import of large quantities of oil from Iran on barter basis. In return Japan will supply to Iran machinery and other industrial productions.

During their latest meeting with Iranian officials the Japanese representatives have announced that Japan is prepared to import annually 1.50 million tons of oil from Iran. This was disclosed by a spokesman of Japanese Delegation in Teheran, adds Daily Farman.

## 3. CULTURE

*The New Cultural Counsellor.*—Mr. M.H.M. Faridani arrived recently in New Delhi and took charge of the Embassy as Cultural Counsellor. It will be recalled that he had attended a South-East-Asian Teachers Seminar held in December 1951 in New Delhi as Iran's Delegate.

*Audience of Shahinshah.*—Last May the Indian Ambassador, Dr. Tarachand, was received in audience by H.I.M. the Shah. The Ambassador presented to His Majesty a complete set of 9 books recently published in India covering the life sketch of Mahatma Gandhi.

*Gifts to Teheran Schools.*—Twenty radio sets were given recently to principals of Teheran primary schools as a joint gift of Department of Press and Informaiton and Municipality of Teheran.

Speaking on the occasion Mr. Bozorgmehr said that Radio Teheran was already broadcasting educational programes prepared by the Ministry of Education. But in the absence of radio sets the school children could not benefit from such programes.

A large number of additional radio sets will also be purchased later so that all primary schools in the capital may be provided with at least one radio set each.

*New Schools to be Opened.*—The Council of Ministers has approved the plan for the opening of 1750 new schools throughout the country within a period of seven years. According to the plan 200 schools will be opened during the current year.

The construction work of the proposed schools has been undertaken by the Construction Bank of Iran.

*250 Army officers to be Sent to Abroad.*—About 250 officers of the Iranian Army will be sent abroad some time during July for Military studies. They will also become familiar with the modern armaments.

The Army General Staff is making preliminary arrangements for the visit of 250 officers to France, U.K. and U.S.A. where they will carry on military studies.

*A gesture sympathy.*—His Excellency Dr. Tara Chand, Ambassador for India in Teheran and Syed Nazir Hussain First Secretary of the Indian Embassy saw the Prime Minister of Iran on Wednesday, 4th August, 1954 to hand over to him a gift of 50,000 *tumans* worth of Indian Tea given by

the Government of India and a cheque for 100,000 *rials* on behalf of the Indian residents in Iran in the aid of the flood-stricken people there, as a gesture of sympathy and fraternity.[1]

*AVICENNA PUBLICATIONS IN IRAN.*—Here is a list of studies recently published in Iran on the occasion of the millenary of Ibn Sina:—

*Hommages rendus ā la mémoire d'Avicenne.*—Lectures by Ali Asghar Hekmat and Fr. Gabrieli, Florence, June 1950, Tehran, 1950.

*Resāle-ye Djudiyyeh* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Dr. Mahmud Nadjmabadi. Tehran, 1370/1951.

*Rag-Shenasi ya Resāle-ye Nabz* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Sayyid Mohammad Meshkhat, Tehran 1951.

*Resāle-ye Manteq* of the *Dāneshnāme-ye 'Alā'i* of Abu Ali Sina published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Dr. Mohammed Mo'in and Sayyid Mohammad Meshkat, Tehran, 1952.

*Ṭabi'iyyāt* of the *Dāneshnāme-ye 'Alā'i* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Sayyid Mohammad Meshkat, Tehran, 1952.

*Ilāhiyyāt* of the *Dāneshnāme-ye 'Alā'i* of Abu Ali Sinha, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Dr. Mohammad Mo'in, Tehran, 1952.

*Resāle-ye Nafs* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Dr. Musa Amid, Tehran, 1952.

*Resāle dar ḥaqiqat va keifiyyat-e salsale-ye moudjūdāt va tasalsol-e asbāb va mosabbebāt* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Dr. Musa Abid, Tehran, 1952.

*Resāle-ye konūz el-Mo'azzemīn* of Abu Ali Sina (presumably), published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Gialal ud-Din Homa'i, Tehran, 1953.

*Mīā al-'Uqūl* of Abu Ali Sina, published with an Introduction and a Commentary by Gialal ud-Din Homa'i, Tehran, 1953.

*Pandj Resālé* of Abu Ali Sina, that is *Risāla fi'l-lughah* in Arabic, the *Ṭafsīr* of three surahs of the Qur'an, *Risāla ba'd al-afādil ilā 'ulamā Madīnat as-Salām fi maqūlāt ash-Shaikh ar Rais*, all annotated by Dr. Ehsan Yarshater, Tehran, 1953.

*Eshārāt va Tanbihāt*, a Persian translation of Abu Ali Sina's *Kitāb al-ishārāt wa't-tanbihāt*, with notes and a commentary by Dr. Ehsan Yarshater, Tehran, 1953.

*Avicenne et le recit visionnaire* par Henri Corbin, in 2 volumes, Tehran 1952, 1954. The first volume contains the Arabic text of *Qissat Hayy ibn Yaqzan* with an old Persian version of the same; the second volume is entitled *Etude sur le cycle des recits avicenniens* and *Notes et* glosses de la traduction du recit de Hayy ibn Yaqzan.

*Le livre du Millenaire d'Avicenne*, a French adaptation of Dhabibollāh Safā's book by Prof. Said Naficy, Tehran 1953.

The Persian edition of the above mentioned book was published at Tehran in 1952 under the title, *Djashn-nāme-ye Ebn-e Sīna.*

*A Guide to Hamadan.*—Published by the Geographical Division of the General Staff of the Army under the auspices of the Society for the preservation of National Monuments. Tehran, 1952.

The Persian text of the Guide just mentioned *Rāhnomā-ye Hamadān* was published under the title.

*'Elm on nafs-e Ebn-e Sīnā va tatbiq-e ān bā ravānshenāsī-ye djadīd*, by Ali Akbar Siyasi, University of Tehran, 1954.

*Fehrest-e noshahā-ye mosannafāt-e Ebn-e Sīna*, by Yahya Mahdavi who resumed and further developed Father Anawati's *Bibliographie d'Avicenne*, Tehran, 1954.

*Hagmatāna. Āthār-e ta'rīkhi-ye Hamadān va faslī dar bāre-ye Abū Ali Sīnā*, by Mohammad Taqi Mostafavi, Tehran, 1953-54.

*Pūr-e Sīnā*, by Sa'id Nafisi, Tehran, 1954.

*Bibliographie des principauz travaux européens sur Avicenne*, by Sa'id Nafisi, Tehran, 1953.

*Maharidj al-hurūf yā ashbāb hudut ul-hurūf*, a work attributed to Ibn Sina and published by Parviz Natel Khanlari at the Tehran University, Tehran, 1954.

*Sharkh 'Ainiyyat Ibn Sina* of Ni'matullah al-Giaza'iri (A.H. 1112), published with notes by Hosein Ali Mahfuz, Tehran, 1954.

*Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Hikmah*, a photographic reproduction of the manuscript kept in the Ahmed III Library of Istanbul, prepared by Modjtaba Minovi. Publication of the Tehran University, 1954.

*Sargodasht-e Ebn-e Sīnā*, Arabic text and Persian translation of Avicenna's biography written by his disciple Ubu 'Ubaid al-Giuzgiani, and published by Dr. Musa 'Ubaid and Sa'id Nafisi in the *Andjoman-e Dūstdārān-e Kitāb*, Tehran, 1952.

*Mi'radjnāme* of Ebne-e Sina, published in the same collection *Andjoman-e Dustdaran-e Kitab*. This work is studied also by H. Corbin in his *Avicenne et le recit visionnaire* mentioned above.

Other works are still in preparation and will be published shortly by the Society for the Preservation of National Monuments. Among the works announced we note the *Riyāziyyāt* or Mathematics, Giuzgiani's biography of Ibn Sina, the *Mirādjnāme* which may be wrongly attributed to Ibn Dina, the *Risāle-ye qorāze-ye tabī'iyyāt* and *Ẓafarnāme.*

Besides these scientific publications numerous articles on Avicenna appeared in the April 1954 issues of the various journal, magazines and newspapers of Iran.

# BOOK REVIEWS

HISTORY OF TIPU SULTAN. By Mohibul Hasan Khan. Calcutta: The Bibliophile Ltd., 1951, Pp. 434 with 3 maps. Price: Rs. 15/-.

Mr. Mohibul Hasan Khan, Lecturer in Islamic History and Culture at the University of Calcutta, has rendered a signal service to Indian History by publishing his critical life of a great warrior and administrator, Tipu Sultan of Mysore.

For wellnigh two centuries Tipu Sultan has remained a controversial figure, the subject of worshipful admiration by his supporters and unlimited hatred by his enemies. Documents and sources relating to him are abundant both in European and Indian languages, but as Mr. Filliozat has pointed out in the *Journal Asiatic* they seem all to be biassed in some way or other. With great courage and impartiality Prof. Mohibul Hasan Khan set himself the task of rigourously sifting the evidence for and against brought by these documents. He made abundant use of the sources in Indian languages, Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, sources that had been much neglected by other scholars; thus he was able to vindicate to a great extent the most maligned of the Indian Rulers and an early hero of Indian independence from foreign rule. The author, however, did not mean to write an apology of Tipu Sultan, but plain history; and that is precisely what makes the value of the book. In the words of an American reviewer, Professor Holder Furber of the University of Pensilvania the HISTORY OF TIPU SULTAN bids fair to be considered as the standard life of the Ruler of Mysore.

Tipu Sultan was born on November 10, 1750 at Devanhalli in Mysore and was called *Tipu* after the Saint's name "Tipu Mastan Aulia" of Arcot to whom the child's mother had prayed for safe delivery. *Sultan* was not a title, but part of Tipu's family name. Already at the age of 15 Tipu accompanied his father Haidar Ali in his military campaigns; when 17 he was given his first nominal command of an army with Ghazi Khan as preceptor. He was only 32 when he succeeded his father at the head of the vast kingdom which the East India Company and its British overlords longed to annexe. Until his death during the siege of Seringapatnam in 1799, his life was but a protracted war against the English, rebel chiefs, Travancore, the Marathas, the Nizam, the English again and always. Tipu Sultan, however, was not only an able and often successful fighter, he was also a capable and progressive administrator. Like Muhammad Ali the founder of modern Egypt, he fostered commerce and industry on Western lines; he encouraged agriculture, banking and money changing. "Tipu was anticipating the policy of self-sufficiency which modern states are following" (P. 373).

This tremendous activity was nourished by a solid piety. Tipu was a true Muslim: he prayed his five prayers daily, fasted rigourously and kept faithfully all the prescription of his Faith. Yet he was no religious fanatic as his enemies have described him, nor a persecutor of Hindus and Christians; he did recognize the value of persuasions other than his own and extended his protection to Hindu places of worship whenever asked to do so. The second highest officer in the realm was a Hindu, Purnaiya; many Hindus filled high responsible posts and enjoyed the full confidence of their sovereign.

The HISTORY OF TIPU SULTAN is well conducted. Written in a sober but lively style it gives a faithful and detailed picture of the chivalous leader: in the midst of his fighting men, at the durbar, in the daily routine of administration, amidst his children whom he loved much or prostrate in prayer at the feet of Allah.

A few minor inaccuracies have been listed and corrected by Mr. Filliozat and some readers may have the impression at times that the nationality of the author

has reflected on his interpretation of certain facts, but this is certainly not forbiden to the historian as long as he places the facts before his critics and justifies his views.

There are several appendixes to the book where additional matter is briefly surveyed: Tipu and the Portugese, his English prisoners, his coinage and the attempted reform of the calendar. The book ends with an extensive Bibliography covering 14 pages and a very detailed page Index.

V. COURTOIS S.J.

IRAN AND ITS CULTURE—By F. C Davar, M.A., LL.B., B.E.S. (Retd). Published by NEW BOOK CO. LTD. 188-190, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pages XVI+492 Demy Octavo, Rexine Binding, 1953. Price Rs. 15/-.

India and Iran have a long and pre-historic cultural affinity. They are inhabited by the same stock of people known as Aryans. Iranians take pride in their Aryan descent and India being their neighbour they have always evinced great interest in its cultural development. So much so that when they were faced with difficult domestic environments and were forced to quit their motherland, they came and settled in India as Parsees. They have lived in India for centuries and their contribution to Indian Culture is quite significant. It is necessary that the Indians of today should be adequately informed about Iran and with this end in view, the author wrote the present work originally in Gujerati and has now translated it into English.

The book does full justice to the many-sided developments of Iran from the pre-historic period to modern times. It gives the political history of the land along with the gradual development of the Persian language and literature as also the history of its cultural contacts with the neighbouring countries.

How Zoroastrianism has affected the very outlook on life and its problems and tried to rationalise and revolutionise the erstwhile adherence of a country to certain set dogmas can well be seen from the pages of this book. The table of contents comprising of the following titles is very significant and gives the whole thesis of the book in a nutshell:

1. The Dawn of Iranian Civilization—King Jamshid.
2. The Holiness of Iran in its purest aspect—The Prophet Zarathusthra.
3. The Summit of Iranian Splendour—King Darvayush Vishtasp (Darius Hystaspes: Dara I).
4. The Culmination of Iranian Glory—King Khusru I (Chosroes I)—Naushirwan.
5. Iran and Arabia
6. Firdausi and the Rebirth of Zarathusthrian Iran
7. Iran and India
8. Iran and Assyria
9. Iran and Egypt.
10. Iran and China
11. Iran and the Jews
12. The Mithra Cult of Iran
13. Iran and Sufism
14. The Origin of the Persian Language
15. The Garden of Persian Literature
16. The Influence of Persian Literature on Urdu and Turkish Literatures.
17. The Art of Iran
18. The Political and Social Revolution in Modern Iran
19. Modern Persian Literature
20. Finale

It is very imperative for every student of Iranian culture and literature to go through this book as it is sure to add to his information and knowledge about Iran. The chapters on Iran and India, Iran and Sufism and Modern Persian Literature are specially very interesting as quotations from Persian poets and instances cited about the existence of Indo-Iranian cultural relations are very thought provoking. At the end of every chapter authorities quoted are given to facilitate the reader for further pursuance of the subject. From these references it is evident that the author has consulted all available standard works on Iran and made a profitable use of them.

The author has diligently marshalled into proper form a considerable literature about Iran and has presented to the readers, the result of his scholarly and dispassionate study in a most acceptable manner. He has not only made the best use of his head in the study of the culture and literature of his motherland but has also put his heart into it. He is most sympathetic towards Iran and wishes his country to follow the best of her traditions so that her pristine glory may be restored to her.

The printing and get-up of the book to say the least are in conformity with the excellent traditions of the New Book Co. Ltd. of Bombay.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

THE PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS—Edited with Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, London W.C.1. 1953. Price 35 Shillings.

Eighteen principal Upanishads giving the monistic philosophy of Vedanta with a comparative study of the different commentators of them have been treated in his usual masterly style by the leading philosopher of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of the Indian Union. The treatise which counts more than 950 pages devotes about 150 pages to the scholarly introduction of the Editor in which he discusses the term Upanishads, their number, date and authorship and also the philosophy of Vedanta which is based on them. It is acknowledged universally that Dr. Radhakrishnan is the best exponent of Indian Philosophy today and his treatment of this basis of Indian Philosophy fulfils a great need. He has compared the Vedantic philosophy of the Upanishads with Sufism of Rumi, Hallaj and Christian mystics, who have held aloft the torch of self-realization in their own way and to whom all religions were just the different paths leading to the same goal. Upanishads were translated into Persian by Dara Shikuh first of all and introduced to the non-Hindu world and now with the present translation into English, they are presented to the wide world by a person who has devoted his whole life to their study and exposition. The book is indispensable to all students of comparative religions and philosophy.

HIRA LALL CHOPRA.

منصور را گفتند کشف اسرار کردی و سزایت کشتن است اگرچه این بهانه بود و او را بعلت دیگر بر دار زدند!

تو خود دانی که حلاج را چرا کشتی و سوختی و خاکسترش را بر جا نگذاشتی و بباد فنا دادی ـ صفی بر جا نماند که این راز را با او درمیان نهادی، و دانستی ملایک از چه سجدهٔ آدم کردند و سرهنگ قهر یعنی ابلیس چرا نکرد و منیت آورد؟ خواستی غوغا میان انجمن پیدا کنی! صوفی و زاهد شدند، اقرار شد، انکار شد، ابلیس را چه حد که بعد از امر از سجدهٔ آدم ابا کند! این کیست که پیشم با تیغ کشیده ایستاده و گوید اگر پرده از این راز برداری سرت را بردارم؟ از آن نترسم و از جان خود به تنگم:

زیر شمشیر غمت رقص کنان خواهم رفت،،

و نمودن راه و رسم معرفت و حقیقت،، و در ضمن به بیان حکایات مختصری از صوفیان معروف چون ذو النون مصری و شیخ نجم الدین کبری وغیره و یا به نقل اقوال دیگران پرداخته و گاه گاه در آن بیان لطیفه‌هائی نیز بکار برده است .

صفی علیشاه در این کتاب در بیان خلافت لطیفه‌هائی آورده و چون از خلیفه اول ذکری بمیان میآید او را با احترام و تکریم یاد کرده و فضیلت و جلالت قدر او را می‌ستاید[۱] و همچنین در کتاب تفسیر منظوم در هر جا که ذکری از خلیفه اول و خلیفه ثانی بمیان آمده باز هم همراه با احترام و تعظیم میباشد[۲] در حالیکه صفی علیشاه از شیعان متعصب بود و در بعضی از تألیفات خود مانند ''دیوان و قصاید و غزلیات[۳]،، اشارتی بر علیه اهل سنت و جماعت نموده است و حتی در موضعی مولانا جلال الدین رومی را که از اهل تسنن میباشد انتقاد کرده است[۴] با اینکه گاهی مولوی معنوی را ستایش و از او با کمال قوت خود دفاع کرده است[۵].

این کتاب بسبکی روان و ساده نوشته شده و نمونهٔ آن اینست[۶] :

''عالم از غلغلهٔ عشق پر است و رازها از پرده بیرون و در السنهٔ کاینات جاری اما شنوندهٔ نیست! خلایق همه خوابند و اطفال دنیا به بازی خود سرگرم! و گوسفندان مرتع طبیعت بچرا مشغول! چه بی‌پرده دم از معارف زنیم و چه سربسته سخن گوئیم آشنا بهوش است و بیگانه را پنبه غفلت در گوش! جز اینکه غیرت عشق مانع از افشای راز شد و قفل شریعت بر زبان درویش نهاد .

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(۱) اسرار المعارف ص ۵۶ - ۵۸ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۰

(۲) تفسیر منظوم صفی صفحات ۵۶۷ و ۱۵۲ و ۵۹۰ چاپ دوم تهران ۱۳۱۷

(۳) مقدمهٔ صفی دیوان و قصاید غزلیات ص ۳۴ چاپ تهران ۱۳۱۶

(۴) تفسیر منظوم صفی ص.۲۰۲ چاپ دوم تهران ۱۳۱۷

(۵) زبدة الاسرار صفی ص ۷۵ - ۷۶ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۶

(۶) اسرار المعارف ص ۱۱ - ۱۲ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۰

در این کتاب صفی علیشاه بیشتر با 'ای عزیز' آغاز سخن کرده و سعی بلیغ مبذول داشته تا به پیروان و ارادتمندان خود بفهماند که صوفی کیست و غیرصوفی چه کسی و فرق بین صوفی حقیقی و غیرحقیقی چه میباشد[۱] :

''فواید این کتاب بسیار است منجمله اینکه هر کس بخواند تمیز اصل را از بدل تواند داد و عارف را از مدعیان فرق تواند داد''.

و درجای دیگر[۲] :

''بر ارباب بصیرت پوشیده نماند که این کتاب این تصوف محض است دخلی بقواعد هیچ مذهبی و آداب هیچ ملتی ندارد که اهل آن مذهب بخروش آیند''.

صفی علیشاه در این کتاب اظهار عقیده نموده که برخی کسان صوفی نیستند اما مایه افتخار خود میداند که عنوان صوفی یا درویش را بر خود نهند و بدین کار تظاهر نمایند.

در صفحه ۴ ـ ۱۵ شرح داده است که صوفی و مرشد و درویش و عارف و واصل کیست و آنها را چه صفت مشخصیه است و همچنین درصفحه ۱۶ــ ۱۷ نماز ـ روزه ـ زکوة ـ حج ـ و ولایت را اصل عبودیت حقیقی خوانده و مدعی شده است که شریعت بر همین اصول مستقر میباشد و سپس در صفحات ۱۸ ــ ۱۹ چهار رکن نماز (قیام ـ قیود ـ رکوع ـ سجود) را شرح داده است و همچنین درصفحه ۲۱ اوصاف اهل طریقت و انسان کامل صفت را بیان فرموده و تحصیل آدمیت را بدو چیز منحصر دانسته است ''یکی آداب ظاهره و آنرا شریعت گویند ـ یکی اخلاق باطن و آنرا تصوف یا طریقت نامند'' و بعد از آن فایدهٔ شریعت و طریقت را شرح داده و نتیجه گرفته است که ''حاصل دعوت انبیاء یکی نظم و وضع شریعت و رسم مدنیت بوده و یکی تکمیل و تربیت نفوس بمراتب آدمیت

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(۱) اسرار المعارف ص ۱۵ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۰

(۲) اسرار المعارف ص ۳۶ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۰

و وفا علی شاه پس از چند هفتهٔ تصحیح و ملاحظات آنرا بصورت کتابی گرد آورد و اسم آنرا باشارهٔ صفی علیشاه اسرار المعارف گذاشت ـ سپس ظهیر الدوله صفا علی شاه از آن سه نسخه مرقوم و بوفا علی شاه تحویل داد.

در این کتاب صفی علیشاه بمریدان و ارادتمندان خود نصیحت کرده و تصوف و شرائط آنرا تذکر داده است:

"ای عزیز این کتاب تصوف است فقیر صفی علی بموهبت غیبی و اشارهٔ قدسی نوشتم تا از برای اهلش اگر در روزگار یافت شود سر رشتهٔ باشد و عجالتاً موجب تشویق طالبان عالی همت شود.

اما ترا نصیحتی کنم که هرگز پیرامون این امر نگردی و جان خود را بو اللهوسانه بتلف ندهی بهمانکه تصوف را کمالدانی و اهلش را نوعاً گرامی شماری و دوست باشی قناعت کن که ترا کافیست ـ از آنکه تصوف بمثال گوهری است در قعر محیطی که عمق آن باندازهٔ عمر آدمیست و نهنگان بسیار در اطراف آن صدف است و بدیهی است که چنین گوهری را بمحض ادعا و تصور بدست نتوان آورد ـ بسیار فرق باشد از اندیشه تا وصول ـ اگرچه بزعم فقیر حصولش موقوف بموهبت است ولی تحصیلش را شرایطی گفته اند که بآن شروط هم عمل کردن باز بی‌تأییدات الهی و عنایات ازلی نشود ـ از آن جمله گذشتن از جان و مال و مرادات است و این اصل اعظم است و بسیار دیده شد که از جان هم گذشتند و باین مقصود پی نبردند و بساحل این بحر مردند.

و دیگر از شرایط خدمت غواصی است که وضع فرو رفتن در این بحر و وقت آنرا بداند و جای آنرا بشناسد و از تدبیر دفع نهنگ آگاه باشد .............. وصول این امر منحصر است بدو اصل و هزار شرط: اصل اول ـ گذشتن از جان و ترک آمال دنیوی و اخروی و مرادات ظاهری و باطنی است بالمره ـ اصل ثانی ـ طلب دلیلی که او افسون جانوران بحری را بداند و از تدبیر دفع نهنگ آگاه باشد"[1].

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(۱) اسرار المعارف ص ٦ ـ ۸ چاپ تهران ۱۳۲۰

پنجه کردن است وجز احمق را نشاید، دوای کمیاب و پر قیمت بهر مریض مفرما و اگر بیمار فقیر و بینوا باشد او را حقیر مشمار و معالجه‌اش را سهل و سرسری مگیر تا خدای در مقام دیگر بدلخواه تو تلافی کند و لازم است که طبیب بهر مذهبی باشد متدین و دلسوز و امین و خلیق و شفیق و بردبار و خدای ترس باشد».

این رساله بسال ۱۳۵۷ هجری قمری مطابق ۱۳۱۷ شمشی بتصحیح هادی مولوی وفا علی شاه گیلانی در تهران بچاپ رسیده است چنانکه در خاتمه کتاب وفا علی شاه در این باب میگوید:

«قد تمت هذه الرسالة الشریفة الموسومة بمیزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه فی آداب السلوك و الطریقة من مصنفات العارف الکامل الواصل العالم العامل الباذل سراج العارفین و منهاج السالکین هادی الصراط المستقیم الطریقة حاوی الاصول و الفروع الشریعة المؤید بتأییدات الالهی الحاج میرزا حسن الملقب بصفی علیشاه نعمت اللهی اراه الله حقائق الاشیاء کما هی و کان الفراغ من تسویدها فی شهر جمادی الاولی من شهور سنهٔ سبعة و خمسین و ثلاثمائة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبویه علیه آلاف الثناء و التحیة ۱۳۵۷—».

الف (۳): اسرار المعارف

آخرین تألیف حضرت صفی علیشاه است که آنرا هادی مولوی وفا علی شاه گیلانی (رشتی) پس از وفات صفی علیشاه بسال ۱۳۲۰ بچاپ رسانده است.

در مقدمه این کتاب وفا علی شاه نوشته است که بسال ۱۳۱۴ در اوایل محرم الحرام بود که چند نفر از مریدان مخصوص صفی علیشاه که در محفل انسی حضور داشتند صحبت از تصوف وعرفان بمیان آوردند و پس جمع‌آوری چند اوراق پریشان بنظر رسید ـ حضرت صفی علیشاه این کار را بعهدهٔ وفا علی شاه سپرد

در این کتاب بیان شده است که ''انسانیت موقوف بآداب ظاهر و سلوک باطن است،، و ''دریافت مرتبه انسانیت منحصر بسلوک و تصوف است،، و همچنین بیان شده است که فرق بین اهل معنی و مدعی چیست و چه راهی است که انسان بوسیله آن ''از افراط و تفریط برکنار،، باشد و ''از صراط آدمیت،، نلغزد - بنظر صفی علیشاه ''مدار آدمیت منحصر بآداب ظاهر و سلوک باطن است و این هر دو لازم و ملزوم یکدیگر اند،،.

قبل از آنکه صفی علیشاه بشرح آداب ظاهر که لازمهٔ مدنیت است بپردازد ''اوصاف و اعمالیکه متعلق بسلوک و تصوف و اصول توحید و عرفان است،، بیان فرموده است و پس از بیان ''آدابیکه متعلق برسوم معاشرت و اصول مدنیت است،، هر گروهی مانند درویش و واعظ و فیلسوف و طبیب و وزیر و سپهسالار و حاکم شهر و عسس و اهل بازار و سوداگر را برای مراعات آن آداب که از لوازم آدمیت است نصیحتی مبذول داشته است - سپس جهال را بر سه دسته تقسیم و بشرح هر یکی از آنها پرداخته و اجتناب از ایشان را لازم دانسته است.

سبک این کتاب نیز چون پیشتر نوشته‌های صفی علیشاه بسیاق بسیار ساده و سهل و روان و جالب پرداخته شده و پیدا است که صفی علیشاه بنثری فصیح و شگفته و بسیار متین و پخته آشنا و مسلط بوده است و نمونهٔ آن اینست[١]:

''اگر طبیبی، معالجه بخلاف معمول بلد مکن و تا تمیز مرض ندهی دوا مده و مریض و پرستارانش را هرچند مرض صعب باشد مترسان و تسلی ده که آنهم نوعی از معالجه است و چون در تمیز مرض متحیر باشی طبیب دیگر را با خود شریک ساز تا حفظ دین و دنیا هر دو کرده باشی و در حال مستی و تفرقهٔ حواس نبض هیچ مریضی مگیر و تجویز دوا یا فصد مکن و چون خودت را علتی باشد بمعالجهٔ دیگری اقدام مکن در علاج ضامن مشو که این با قضا

(١) میزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه ص ۴۱ - ۴۲ چاپ تهران ١٣١٧

# تألیفات صفی علیشاه

## (قسط دوّم)

نگارش آقای عطا کریم برق دانشیار زبان فارسی در دانشگاه کلکته و عضو افتخاری
انجمن ادبی فرهنگستان ایران

### الف (۲): میزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه

رساله مختصری است در باره تصوف و عرفان الهی که در آن بحث شده است از رسوم معاشرت و اصول مدنیت و معنی انسانیت و اینکه بر انسان فرض است که این معانی را بداند و بدآنها عمل کند.

صفی علیشاه این رساله را پس از تألیف "بحر الحقائق" چنانکه خود گوید "و اشارت از جانبی شد که از آن مهم عظیم چند روزی طفره و تعطیل جائز افتاد ......" تدوین نموده است چنانکه در سبب تألیف این رساله در مقدمه آن گوید[۱]:

"در این رساله اندکی غور کن شاید چیزی بفهمی اگر از حقائق بهره‌ور نگردی اقلاً از رسوم مدنیت و وضع انسانیت اطلاع یابی این اوقات اشتغال این فقیر ضعیف حسن بن محمد باقر الاصفهانی ملقب بصفی علی که اکنون ساکن دار الخلافه طهرانم بعد از نظم نسخهٔ بحر الحقائق که اصطلاحات مخصوصه اهل توحید و تصوف است و فراغت از طبع آن نظماً بتفسیر و تأویل کلام الله مجید است و از برای نگارش این رساله وقت نداشتم و حاضر نبودم باعثی پیدا کرد و اشارت از جانبی شد که از آن مهم عظیم چند روزی طفره و تعطیل جائز افتاد و نگارش این کتاب موسوم بمیزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه پیشنهاد فکرت گشت امید که مطالعه کنندگان را نفعی و حاصلی بخشد".

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(۱) میزان المعرفه و برهان الحقیقه ص ۵ - ۶ چاپ تهران ۱۳۱۷

چو در خان لنجان فراز آمدم ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بهرچ بگوئی نیاز آمدم
مرا سوی خان خودش جایداد ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ چو با من بدید او بخرگاه داد
خداوند این دفترم بنده کرد ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ لب هر مرادم بر از خنده کرد
ز پوشیدنی و ز گستردنی ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ ز افکندنی و هم از خوردنی
پسندیده و پاک در خورد من ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بدادی بشستی ز دل درد من
بد اندیش بر من زبان برگشود ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ چو خر ژاژ هر زشتئی میسرود
بگوشم رسید و گرفتم گران ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ که تا دلش بر من نگردد گران
مرا خواند و از من نپوشید چیز ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ چه بایدت گفتا ببخشم بنیز
چو بدگوی دانم که بدخواه تست ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بد اندیش بر شیوه و راه تست
تو بی‌بیم باش و مشو دور ما ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ که بدگو نشاید بمزدور ما
که همواره رنجور بادا تنش ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ چو مادرش بدنام هر جا زنش
چو از پردگیش آگهی یافتم ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ سوی خدمتش نیز بشتافتم
بهر کار فرمانبر او شدم ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بنیکو نهادیش خستو شدم
بفرزند او گرچه شاگرد هست ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ نگر تا کجا مهربانیش هست
بهاران سوی رود زرّین شدم ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ ز بهر نشاط و پاین شدم[۱] (کذا)
بآب اندر افتادم از ناگهان ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ ز یاران به پیشم کهان و مهان
بماندم گرفتار گرداب سخت ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ تو گفتی که برگشت بیدار بخت
چو آگاه شد بر سر من دوید ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بمویم گرفت و مرا برکشید
دلش گشت بر دیدنم نیک شاد ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ سبک گوسفندی بدرویش داد
پس از خواست دادار یزدان پاک ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ شد ایمن ازو جان من از هلاک
کنون گر بدستم بود جان و تن ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ ندارم دریغ از بخواهد ز من
که یزدان نیکی دهش یار باد ‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌‌ بد اندیش و بدگوی او خوار باد[۲]

( نا تمام )

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(۱) شاید دراصل چنین بوده است : ز بهر نشاط و بآئین شدم .

(۲) رجوع شود بمجله کاوه سال دوم جدید شمارهٔ دو صفحه ۱۶ .

مسئلهٔ دیگر که قابل توجه است مسئلهٔ وزن یوسف و زلیخاست که مانند شاهنامه در بحر متقارب ساخته شده و صاحب آتشکده بر اینکه بحر متقارب برای اشعار حماسی مناسب است، نه قصهٔ عاشقانه، نیک پی برده[۱] و در واقع آنچه من میدانم در ادبیات ایران از ویس ورامین فخر الدین اسعد گرگانی (تألیف در ۴۳۴ ــ ۴۴۷) تا یوسف و زلیخای شوکت (تألیف در ۱۲۳۲) قصه و افسانهٔ عاشقانه که در بحر متقارب ساخته باشد وجود ندارد».

بعضی نوشته اند فردوسی در طی مسافرت خود در سنهٔ ۳۸۸ و ۳۸۹ در حوالی اصفهان در خان لنجان که نام قصبه‌ای از مضافات و توابع اصفهان است در نزد حاکم احمد بن محمد بن ابی بکر خان لنجانی بوده و چون ازین حاکم و پسرش عنایتها و مهربانیها دیده یک نسخه شاهنامه را بنام وی ساخته و در ۲۵ محرم بسال ۳۸۹ آن را بانجام رسانیده و پرداخته.

سند مدّعای فوق اشعاریست که در خاتمهٔ یک نسخه شاهنامهٔ خطی قدیم در موزهٔ بریتانی لندن محفوظست که عدّهٔ آن ۳۲ بیت و بقرار ذیل است:

چو شد اسپری داستان بزرگ / سخنهای آن خسروان سترگ
بروز سوم شنبدی چاشتگاه / شده پنج در پنج روزان ز ماه
که تازیش خواند محرم بنام / که از ارجمندیش ماه حرام
ز تاریخ دهقان بگویمت نیز / ز اندیشه دل را بشویمت نیز
مه بهمن و آسمان روز بود / که حاکم بدین نامه پیروز بود
چو خواهشگری و نیازم نمود / بدین پرسشم بر زبان برگشود
همایون نهاد و پسندیده گل / خردمند و ارمیده و نیک دل
گرانمایه احمد که همسال او / بجوید بهر جا از او آل او
ز باباش جوئی تو نام درست / ابو بکرش آخر محمد نخست
سپاهانی و خان نشستنگهش / بنزد بزرگان ستوده دهش

(۱) صاحب آتشکده در بجا چنین عقیده‌ای را اظهار کرده که بحر متقارب برای اشعار حماسی مناسب است نه قصهٔ عاشقانه فقط راجع بیوسف و زلیخا اظهار عقیده میکند که فردوسی بعلت کسالت مزاج و کبر سن سعی بلیغ در نظم آن نکرده است.

مستشرق معروف آلمانی ''اته،، راجع بنسبت مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا بفردوسی مینویسد :

''اکنون من عقیده دارم که نسبت یوسف و زلیخا بفردوسی صحیح است و دلائل من بر وجه ذیل است[۱] :

اولا سبک و شعریت این منظومه چنانکه صاحبان ریاض الشعراء و آتشکده هم تصدیق دارند بفردوسی برازنده است . نهایت آتشکده گوید مختصر تنزلی در آن در اثر پیری استاد حاصل شده است .

بعضیها میگویند : وصف و لطایفی که بکار برده شده در واقع کار یک گویندهٔ درجهٔ اول ایرانی است و اگر فردوسی نباشد ناچار باید نظامی ناظم آن باشد که آنهم ممکن نیست ولی چون قضاوت در خوبی و بدی یک شعر غالباً متوقف بذوق شخصی است من از این دلیل استفاده نمیکنم ولی بنظر من شباهت تامی که بین بعضی قسمتهای یوسف و زلیخا و شاهنامه هست دلیل قابل اعتنائیست :

مثلا در وصف مرگ نا بهنگام راحیل در تولد بنیامین و در سوکواری دلخراشی که در آنجا آمده حتی از حیث عبارت هم شکایت و نالهٔ فردوسی را در مرگ فرزند خویش که در شاهنامه است بخاطر میاورد . زبان ''یوسف و زلیخا،، مانند شاهنامه خالص نیست زیرا موضوع آن غیر از موضوع شاهنامه است که عبارتست از وصف دلیران ایران باستان شاعر بمناسبت متعمداً فارسی سره بکار برده در صورتیکه یوسف و زلیخا موضوعی است از قرآن و بالطبع ناچار بود الفاظ زیاد عربی داشته باشد . با این همه یوسف و زلیخا نسبت بتصنیفات معاصرین فردوسی مانند عنصری و اسدی و ناصر خسرو باز کمتر عربی دارد . پس از این حیث هم مانعی برای آنکه این منظومه از فردرسی باشد نیست .

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(۱) رجوع شود بفردوسی نامهٔ مجلهٔ مهر صفحهٔ ۸۸ ط ترجمهٔ فاضل محترم آقای دکتر رضازاده شفق .

بگویم من این داستان را درست | نباشم درین خدمت میر سست
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
بگفت این و این قصّه آغاز کرد | در جستجوی سخن باز کرد
بپیوست چونانکه طبعش نمود | که آن خدمتی سخت شایسته بود
بگفتار آن در بسی رنج برد | بسی سعی دید و بسی دم شمرد
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

تا آنجا که گوید:

شنیدم من آن داستان سر بسر | ز نیک و بدش آگهم در بدر
قضارا یکی روز اخبار آن | همی‌راندمش بی‌غرض بر زبان
بنزدیک تاج زمانه اجل | موفّق سپهر وفا و محل
ز من این حکایت بواجب شنید | پس آنگه یکی سوی من بنگرید
مرا گفت خواهم که اکنون تو نیز | بباشی بگفتار و شغلی بنیز
هم از بهر این قصّه ساز آوری | ز هر گوشه معنی فراز آوری
سخن را بدانش مرکّب کنی | ز عیب و عوارش مهذّب کنی
بگوئی چنان کان دگر شاعران | نیابند زحف و تعدّی در آن
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
چو بشنیدم این گفتگوی اجل | دلم را شد اکثر امید اقل
چنین گفتمش کای جهان کرم | بجود و نوال و نهاد و نعم
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
تن و جان من زیر فرمان تست | روان در تن من ثناخوان تست
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
بکوشم باندازهٔ دستگاه | کنم بر فزود سخن‌ران نگاه
بپیوندم اندر خور طبع خویش | نشاید سخن گفتن از طبع بیش

ما بجهت خوف اطناب و ملال خوانندگان در اختصار کوشیدیم و هر که خواهد بر تمام آن اشعار آگاه گردد بفردوسی‌نامه مجله مهر صفحه ۹۲ه رجوع نماید.

یکی بو المؤیّد که از بلخ بود — بدانش همی خویشتن را ستود
نخست او بدین در سخن یافته است — بگفته است چون بانگ دریافته است
پس از وی سخن‌باف این داستان — یکی مرد بُد خوبروی و جوان
نهاده ورا بختیاری لقب — گشادی بر اشعار هر جای لب
بچاره بر مهتران بر شدی — بخواندی ثنا و عطا بستدی
چنان دان که یک ره فتاد اتّفاق — باهواز شد نزد میر عراق
شنیدم که آن روز نوروز بود — یکی روز بس کشور افروز بود
خداوند فرخ امیر عراق — که تختش سپهر است و اسبش براق

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

بدان روز بر گاه چون خسروان — سر او را خرد پیر و دولت جوان
بزرگان گیتی کمربسته پاک — بر تخت وی پاک بوسیده خاک
سرایندگان رود برداشته — نوای خوش از چرخ بگذاشته
همیدون صف شاعران آخته — بخوانده ثناها و پرداخته
یکی بختیاری بر از شاعران — دلش یارجوی و زبان مدح خوان
بعادت یکی آفرین خوانده بود — بامید آن پر عطا مانده بود

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

تا آنجا که گوید:

ز نوروز چون روز بگذشت چند — بفال همایون و بخت بلند
یکی روز نزدیک میر عراق — که از خسروان برده دارد سباق
همی‌خواند مُقری بآواز خوش — مگر سورهٔ یوسف خوب‌وش
خداوند فرهنگ فرزانه هوش — نهاده بمقری دل و چشم و گوش

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

چنان بُد ز توفیق و حکم خدای — که این بختیاری بُد اندر سرای
شهنشاه را دیده آمد بروی — بخواندش سبک میر فرهنگ جوی
بدو گفت اگر طبع داری بدان — توانی سپردن ره داستان
بگو قصّهٔ یوسف از بهر ما — که ما را بدان رغبت است و هوا
سبک بختیاری زمین بوسه داد — چنین گفت کای گنج فرهنگ و داد

چنانکه از آن نسخه مستفاد میگردد دو شاعر پیش از فردوسی بنظم مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا پرداخته اند :

یکی ابو المؤیّد بلخی که در نیمهٔ اول قرن چهارم میزیسته و داستان گرشاسب بوی منسوبست و همچنین تألیف شاهنامه‌ای را نیز بوی نسبت داده اند و ذکر وی مکرّر در کتاب تاریخ سیستان آمده است .

و دیگر بختیاری اهوازیست که بنا بر حدس ”ریو“ شاعر دربار عزّ الدّوله بختیار بن معز الدّوله دیلمی بوده که از سال سیصد و پنجاه و شش تا سال سیصد و شصت و هفت در عراق عرب و اهواز و کرمان سلطنت و فرمانروائی داشته است .

چنانکه از مقدّمهٔ فوق استنباط میشود روزی فردوسی در نزد موفّق از منظومهٔ یوسف و زلیخای بختیاری سخن بمیان میآورد و موفّق پس از شنیدن آن، استاد بزرگوار طوس را مأمور نظم مثنوی مزبور میسازد .

بختیاری مثنوی خود را در اهواز منظوم ساخته و در آن زمان بهاء الدّوله دیلمی امیر عراق در آنجا اقامت داشته و نظم مثنوی مزبور را از وی درخواسته و تقاضا کرده است .

اکنون ما برای مزید اطلاع خوانندگان محترم بذکر بعضی از آن اشعار که مناسب مقام و روشن شدن مطلب است میپردازیم :

ازین قصّه نیکوتر اندر جهان — نرفته است هیچ آشکار و نهان
فراوان شگفتی بدین اندر است — همه حکم جبّار داد آور است
مرین قصّه را پارسی کرده اند — بدو در معانی بگسترده اند
باندازهٔ دانش و طبع خویش — نه کمتر ازو گفته اند و نه بیش
دو شاعر که این قصّه را گفته اند — بهر جای معروف و ننهفته اند

در خصوص امیر عراق و موفّق وزیر وی نیز اختلاف موجود است ''نولدکه'' مستشرق معروف آلمانی مقصود از امیر عراق سلطان الدّوله را میداند و ''ریو'' مولّف فهرست نسخ خطّی موزهٔ بریطانیا ویرا عزّ الدوله بختیار پسر معزّ الدوله حدس میزند .

در مجلهٔ کاوه شمارهٔ دوازدهٔ سال دوّم از دورهٔ جدید مندرج است :

''فردوسی در حدود سنهٔ سیصد و هشتاد و شش مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا را بامر موفّق ابو علی حسن بن محمد اسکافی وزیر بهاء الدوله منظوم ساخته است . وزیر مزبور در اواخر سنهٔ سیصد و هشتاد و هفت گرفتار و بعد بفرار موفّق میگردد و باز در سال سیصد و هشتاد و هشت بمقام وزارت میرسد و در اوائل سنهٔ سیصد و هشتاد و نه با بهاءالدّوله باهواز میرود و بنظم مهام آن سامان اشتغال میورزد . پس از آنجا برامهرمز و ارّجان رهسپار میگردد و از آنجا مأمور فتح و تصرّف شیراز میشود و آن ولایت را از تصرّف ابو نصر بن بختیار خارج میسازد و مدّتی در آنجا اقامت میگزیند و در ماه محرّم سال سیصد و نود بسمت کوهگیلویه تا ابرقو بعقب ابو نصر مذکور میرود و در ماه صفر باز بشیراز باز میگردد و در هجدهم جمادی الاولی مأمور فتح کرمان و جنگ با ابو نصر مزبور میشود و در دوازدهم ماه شعبان بشیراز مراجعت میکند و در بیستم آن ماه گرفتار میگردد''(۱) .

در مقدّمهٔ یکی از نسخه‌های خطّی یوسف و زلیخای موزهٔ لندن اشعاری مندرج است که در نسخه‌های چاپی و خطّی دیگر نیست و همان مقدّمه است که سبب این همه اختلاف در باب رفتن فردوسی باهواز و نظم کتاب یوسف و زلیخا گردیده است .

(۱) برای اطّلاع مفید از شرح زندگانی فردوسی و شاهنامه و یوسف و زلیخا بشماره‌های سال دوم دورهٔ جدید مجلهٔ کاوه مقاله‌های « محصّل » رجوع شود .

در این نامه از تهدید چه خواهی نوشت؟ گفت: آنکه ابو القاسم فردوسی گفته است:

اگر جز بکام من آید جواب     من و گرز و میدان و افراسیاب

سلطان گفت: بیچاره فردوسی را از الطاف و بخشش ما جز حرمان نصیبی حاصل نگردید و نفعی از زحمات خود نبرد. بفرمود تا شصت هزار دینار با خلعتی شاهانه بوی دهند و از گذشته عذر خواهند. این خبر را بفردوسی نوشتند. از بغداد بطوس معاودت نمود».

## عقاید خاورشناسان اروپا

محقّقان اروپا که راجع بفردوسی تحقیقات و تتبّعاتی کرده و مقالاتی در ترجمهٔ استاد بزرگوار طوس نگاشته اند بعضی نظم مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا را بعد از سال چهار صد هجری یعنی پس از اختتام نظم شاهنامه میدانند چنانکه اته مستشرق آلمانی راجع بزمان تألیف و نظم این داستان مینویسد: شاید تألیف یوسف و زلیخا بین ۴۰۰ و ۴۱۱ که سال وفات فردوسی است بعمل آمده باشد که بین سنّ هشتاد و نود فردوسی میشود.

و بعضی دیگر مینویسند فردوسی بعد از آنکه یک بار شاهنامه را در شهر طوس بسال سیصدوهشتادوچهار تمام کرد از طوس مهاجرت اختیار نمود و این شعر که در آخر بعضی از شاهنامه‌ها مندرج است بر آن دلالت دارد:

ز هجرت سه صد بود و هشتاد و چار     که گفتم من این نامهٔ شاهوار

فردوسی بطرف قسمت غربی و جنوب ایران رهسپار میگردد و مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا را بامر امیر عراق و موفّق وزیر وی منظوم میسازد.

رفت و احوال فردوسی و ورود او را ببغداد باز گفت. خلیفه مثال داد که فردوسی را بنزد وی برد. فردوسی بحضور خلیفه رفت و مورد تحسین و نوازش واقع گردید. فردوسی هزار بیت در مدح خلیفه انشاء نمود و بعرض رسانید. خلیفه شاد گردید و بر اعزازش بیفزود. چون فردوسی مدّتی در بغداد درنگ کرد و رحل اقامت بینداخت خلیفه و اهل بغداد کتاب شاهنامه را که در مدح پادشاهان عجم بود عیب و نکوهش میکردند. فردوسی قصّهٔ یوسف و زلیخا را که در قرآن مجید مسطور است منظوم ساخت. خلیفه و اهل بغداد را خوش آمد و بر مرتبت و احترامش بیفزودند تا پس از مدّتی قصّهٔ ورود فردوسی ببغداد بگوش سلطان محمود رسید و منهیان بوی اخبار کردند که آن طوطی حدیقهٔ سخنوری و آن همای بلندپرواز چرخ هنرگستری در آستان احسان و امتنان خلیفه آرمیده و در کنف عاطفت و بخشایش وی آسوده و مرفّه زندگانی میکند.

سلطان خشمگین گردید و نامه‌ای مشتمل بر وعید و تهدید برای خلیفه فرستاده بامر خلیفه در پشت نامهٔ سلطان برمز نوشتند. الم و السّلام. چون نامه بسلطان رسید ارباب فراست و کیاست و دبیران دربار از خواندن و درک آن عاجز شدند و سلطان نیز متحیّر بماند عاقبت دریافتند و بسلطان باز نمودند که مقصود از ''الم'' اشاره بایهٔ: اَلَمْ تَرَ کَیْفَ فَعَلَ رَبُّكَ بِاَصْحابِ الْفیل است. چون سلطان در نامهٔ خود خلیفه را تهدید کرده بود که بغداد را بپای پیلان بسپرم خلیفه در جواب اشاره باصحاب فیل و هلاک ایشان نموده سلطان از کشف این مطلب بغایت مسرور شد و بکسانی که بدرک این اشاره کامیاب شده بودند خلعت داد و آفرین گفت[۱]. سلطان را بعد از چند روز داعیهٔ محاربه و مقاتلهٔ یکی از دشمنان در خاطر افتاد و نامه‌ای فرمود بوی نویسند و به یکی از وزراء گفت.

(۱) این داستان در قابوسنامه راجع بنامه ایست که سلطان محمود بخلیفهٔ بغداد ,,القادر بالله،، فرستاده که باید ماوراء النهر را بمن بخشی و مرا منشوری دهی خلیفه از قبول آن امتناع میکند سلطان نامه‌ای تهدید آمیز که با دو هزار فیل بیایم و بغداد را خراب کنم و خاك آنجا را بپشت پیلان بغزنین آرم برای او میفرستد خلیفه یا سیخ وی آن نامهٔ مرموز را مینویسد.

است مبادا در توقّف تو ضرر و آسیبی عاید گردد . این محقّر را بردار و چنانکه کسی بر حال تو مطلّع نگردد بموضعی دیگر تحویل کن :

**نظم**

چو فردوسی آن جود و اشفاق دید | گزیده سخنهای او را شنید
پذیرفت و بر درج خاطر نگاشت | همه هوش دل بر عزیمت گماشت
گرفت آن عطا را و بس شاد شد | از آن جایگه سوی بغداد شد،،

فردوسی چون ببغداد فرود آمد با کسی سابقهٔ معرفت و رابطهٔ مودّت نداشت . چند روز را در وحشت تنهائی و غربت گذرانید .

روزی تاجری را ملاقات کرد که با وی سوابق معرفت و حقوق قدیم داشت . انواع اکرام و اجلال دربارهٔ استاد طوس مبذول داشت و او را بوثاق خود برد . فردوسی شرح زندگانی و اتفاقاتی که برای وی پیش آمده بود با وی بگفت . تاجر گفت : بحمد لله که در فرجام کار در ظلّ عاطفت خلیفه بیارمیدی و بدار السّلام رسیدی . اکنون ایمن از حوادث و سوانح روزگار زندگانی کن در رفاه و آسودگی بزی چه مرا در نزد دستور خلیفه قرب و منزلتی است . البتّه احوال ترا بسمع وی میرسانم و مراتب فضل و کمال و دانش ترا بوی باز میگویم . تاجر نزد وزیر خلیفه رفت و ماجرای فردوسی با وی بگفت و از فضائل و کمالات او سخن گفت تا دستور را بدیدار فردوسی رغبتی تمام افتاد و باحضارش فرمان داد . چون فردوسی در نظم زبان فارسی و تازی بغایت استاد بود قصیده‌ای عربی که مشتمل بر معانی و مضامین بدیع و مشحون بر صنایع و لطایف ادبی بود بعرض وزیر رسانید .

جمیع فصحاء و بلغاء که در آن مجلس حاضر بودند از بلاغت و فصاحت استاد طوس قرین شگفتی و حیرت گردیدند و بر احترام و اکرامش بیفزودند . وزیر فردوسی را در سرای خود جای داد و مقدمش را گرامی داشت و باز نمود که ترا در نزد خلیفه مرتبتی بلند و مقامی ارجمند خواهد بود و پایگاهی رفیع خواهی یافت چه آوازهٔ فضل و هنر تو بگوش او رسیده . وزیر نزد خلیفه

## عقیدهٔ نویسندگان خاور

نویسندگان مشرق تألیف و نظم یوسف و زلیخا را بعد از مایوسی و نومیدی فردوسی از سلطان محمود و فرار وی از غزنین میدانند ولی بعضی از نویسندگان مغرب نظم یوسف و زلیخا را قبل از رفتن فردوسی بغزنین و پیش از سلطنت محمود غزنوی میپندارند.

صاحب مجمع الفصحاء مینویسند:

''چون حکیم از سلطان محروم گردید و از سیاست بهراسید از غزنین بهری آمد و در خانهٔ ادیب اسمعیل وراق ترمدی پدر ادیب صابر نهان ماند. پس از ششماه توقف بطوس آمد و از آنجا بمازندران شد، بخدمت اسپهبد شهریار از سلاطین آل باوند که بیزدگرد شهریار نسب رسانند و گفت: این کتاب را از نام محمود باز گردانم و بنام تو آرم که بدان احق و اولی باشی که همهٔ آن تجدید آثار اجداد تست. وی قبول نکرد و او را ازین نیت باز داشت و یکصد بیت هجای سلطان را بیکصد هزار درم بخرید و بشست و او را دلخوش کرد و ایمن بداشت تا بمکه شد و مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا را بوزن تقارب موزون کرد و بواقعات یوسف صدیق مزین فرمود''.

آذر صاحب آتشکده در باب رفتن فردوسی ببغداد و عراق چیزی ذکر نمیکند ولی درباب مثنوی مذکور مینویسد:

''حکیم مزبور در اواخر عمر مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا نیز در بحر تقارب برشتهٔ نظم در آورد اگرچه بعلت کسالت و کثرت سن سعی بلیغ نکرده اما متانت و سلاست کلام باستادی ایشان گواه است''.

در مقدمه کتاب شاهنامه بایسنقری در شرح زندگانی و ترجمهٔ فردوسی در خصوص مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا مذکور است:

''فردوسی چون از سلطان برنجید و بطبرستان رفت پادشاه آن سامان ویرا نوازش نمود و صلهٔ فاخر بوی ارزانی داشت و گفت: چون سلطان از تو آزرده

و بویژه دانشمندان اروپا مانند ''مُهل'' فرانسوی و ''استاد نولد که'' دانشمند شهیر آلمانی وغیره سالها درین راه رنج برده و زحمات طاقت‌فرسا تحمّل کرده و چیزی را مجهول نگذاشته اند که دیگران در آن رنجی برند و زحمت و مشقتی بخود راه دهند. ولی افسوس که فتنه و استیلاء قوم وحشی مغول و تاتار و کشتار عام مردم این کشور و بر انداختن و از میان بردن آثار فضل و ادب و همچنین هجوم و غلبهٔ اقوام دیگر بقسمی منابع اطّلاعات و سرچشمه‌های تحقیقات ما را معدوم و نابود ساخته است که هر گاه قرنها راجع بشعرای بزرگ ایران مانند: ''رودکی'' و ''فردوسی'' بتحقیق و تتبّع پردازیم و غور و دقّت نمائیم باز چنانکه باید و شاید از عهدهٔ رفع مجهولات و اشکالات بر نیائیم و ببرطرف کردن اشتباهات کاملا موفّق نشویم و کامیاب نگردیم، مخصوصاً راجع بترجمه و شرح احوال و زندگانی استاد بزرگوار و ارجمندی مانند فردوسی که دربارهٔ وی داستانها و افسانه‌ها ساخته و قصّه‌ها و حکایات عاری از صحّت و حقیقت پرداخته اند. و این مطلب بدیهی و مسلم است که هرچند شاعر و بزرگی مقامش مهم‌تر و پایگاهش بلندتر و برتر دربارهٔ وی افسانه‌ها و روایات دور از حقیقت بیشتر گفته اند.

نگارنده برای آنکه کاملا مطالب این مقاله روشن شود و بیشتر مورد استفادهٔ خوانندگان محترم گردد آنرا بقسمتهای سه‌گانهٔ ذیل منقسم میسازد و بترتیب بشرح و تفصیل هر یک میپردازد:

۱ — عقیدهٔ نویسندگان خاور و مشرق راجع بسبب نظم و کیفیّت و زمان تألیف مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا.

۲ — عقاید محقّقان و خاور شناسان اروپا.

۳ — عقیدهٔ نگارندهٔ مقاله و نتیجهٔ تحقیق و تتبّع و ادلّه و مدارکی که مدّعای ما را ثابت و مدلّل میدارد.

# یوسف و زلیخای منسوب بفردوسی

نگارش استاد اجلّ جناب آقای عبدالعظیم قریب، دانشگاه تهران

درسال هزار و دویست و نود و نه شمسی در مجلهٔ اصول تعلیم که از طرف وزارت فرهنگ منتشر میگردید در تحت عنوان: ''ارمغان عید یا هدیهٔ نوروزی'' مقاله‌ای راجع بنخستین شاعر و چکامه سرای فارسی نگاشتم و اهمیّت تاریخ سیستان و سه تن از شعراء زمان یعقوب لیث صفّاری: ''محمّد بن وصیف سگزی'' رئیس دار الانشاء یعقوب و ''محمّد بن مخلّد سگزی'' و ''بسّام کورد'' و بسیاری از مطالب سودمند دیگر را در آن مقاله نوشتم و متذکّر گردیدم که کسی دیگر در نگاشتن چنان مقاله‌ای بر من پیشی نگرفته و اینک نیز بنوشتن مقاله‌ای دیگر میپردازم که کسی بر من در نوشتن آن سبقت نگرفته است. این مقاله راجع بمثنوی یوسف زلیخای منسوب بفردوسی استاد و بزرگترین سخن‌سرایان ایران و فارسی زبانانست و همین مثنوی است که قسمتی از زندگانی این استاد بزرگوار را مجهول و نامعلوم ساخته و بعقیدهٔ نگارنده اگر این مقاله از حیث اهمیّت بر مقاله ''نخستین شاعر فارسی'' مزیّت و برتری نداشته باشد البتّه کمتر نیست و علاقه‌مندان فضل و ادب و زبان فارسی را گرانبهاترین و بهترین هدیّه و ارمغان خواهد بود.

زیرا مقالهٔ مزبور قسمتی از شرح زندگانی فردوسی را روشن و معلوم میسازد و رفع اشتباهات و لغزشهائی را که مورّخان و داشمندان خاور و باختر مرتکب گردیده اند مینماید.

شاید در بادی امر چنین تصور شود که راجع بترجمه و شرح زندگانی استاد بزرگوار و سخندان عالیمقدار طوس رساله‌ها نگاشته و کتابها نوشته اند

نویسندگان قوی‌دست و دانشمندان نیرومند مانند استاد مهربانم آقای سعید نفیسی - استاد اجلّ آقای عبد العظیم قریب - آقایان، دکتر محمد معین - دکتر ذبیح الله صفا - دکتر پرویز ناتل خانلری - دکتر محمد مکری - دکتر بهمن کریمی - عبد الحسین زرین کوب - علی اکبر سلیمی - محمد تقی مصطفوی - حبیب الله صمدی - ابو الفضل مرعشی - دکتر ناصر الدین شاه حسینی - حسین کوهی کرمانی - ابراهیم برهان آزاد - و دیگران باین جانب مهربانی و محبت میورزیدند و همیشه نوشته‌های علمی و ادبی خودشان بمن میدادند و از هر گونه تشویق که بدرد مجلّه مذکور میخورد دلداریم میکردند و ممنون میفرمودند - بنده برای اظهار آن لطف خاصی که بمن مینمودند بصمیم قلب بی‌نهایت سپاسگذارم ولی اکنون که بهندوستان برگشته‌ام گله‌ای نیز دارم که چرا از التفات پُر محبت خودشان محرومم داشته اند و چنان محروم که هیچ وقت مقاله‌ای یا نوشته‌ای برای ایندو ایرانیکا ارسال نمی‌دارند - باز هم مأیوس نیستم بلکه امیدوارم و التماس آن دارم که علاقه و محبت قبلی خودشان را که بایندو ایرانیکا داشتند و عجالةً در حالت التوا میباشد تجدید و همه اعضاء انجمن بزم ایران را و بویژه این ارادتمند قدیمی را ممنون و دانش پژوهان را از نوشته‌های خودشان بهره‌مند بفرمایند - و ما نه تنها از فضلاء و دانشمندان نامبرده تقاضا داریم بلکه بهمه نویسندگان فارسی زبان استدعاء میکنیم که مجلّه ما را از نوشته‌های خودشان زینت و رونقی بخشند و ممنون بفرمایند - در اینجا تذکری که بنظرم بی‌مورد نیست نیز بعرض میرسانم و آن اینست که اکنون انجمن بزم ایران تصمیم گرفته است که پنج روپیه برای هر صفحه چاپی در مجلّه ایندو ایرانیکا بنویسندگان ارجمند آن هدیةً تقدیم کند که موجب تشویق آنان باشد و کارهای مجلّه هم بسرعت و درستگی انجام پذیرد - انتظار آن دارم که حرفهای نیازمندانه من بهدر نخواهد رفت انشاءالله.

عطا کریم برق

مدیر معاون و مسئول قسمت فارسی مجله ایندو ایرانیکا

سرمقاله

# نویسندگان محترم ایران توجه بفرمایند

همه دوستداران فرهنگ و ادب چه در خاور و چه در باختر از سالیان دراز در باره انجمن بزم ایران اطلاعاتی دارند و میتوان گفت که از انتشارات ادبی و فرهنگی انجمن نامبرده و مجلّه ایندو ایرانیکا که برای توسیع روابط فرهنگی هند و ایران بیرون میآید نیز بی‌اطلاع نیستند و معلوم است که قبلاً این مجله تنها قسمت انگلیسی را چاپ و بآن اکتفا میکرد و جز آن چاره‌ای نبود ولی چون خوشبختانه بسال ۱۹۴۹ میلادی برای جمع فرهنگ و دانش بکشوری که بنظرم سرزمین عشق و محبت و بهشتی بر روی زمین میباشد و آنرا باصطلاح عام ایران میگویند بعنوان دانشجوی اعزامی مسافرتی بآنجا نمودم بسیار مشتاق و آرزومند بودم وسیله‌ای پیدا شود که در مجلّه نامبرده قسمتی برای فارسی نیز مخصوص شود و این آرزو را در قلب خودم میپرورانیدم، تصادفاً بسال ۱۹۵۰ میلادی اطلاعاتی بگوش من برخورد که استاد ارجمندم آقای دکتر محمد اسحاق که از مدتها در سعی آن بودند موفقیت شایانی بدست آورده اند و قرار شده است که نوشته‌های فارسی نیز در آن مجله بچاپ رسد با کسب این اطلاع که در درحقیقت آنرا مژده‌ای میتوان گفت شادمانی و خرسندی برای اینجانب فراهم گردید و بدون تاخیر برای انجام وظیفه‌ای در خدمت که درخور حال من بود خودم را حاضر و آماده ساختم و تا آنجائیکه دست داشتم در تمام مدت اقامت خودم در ایران هیچ وقت از آن خدمت کوتاهی و دریغ نکردم - در اینجا اظهار این نکته بی‌مورد نیست برای بدست آوردن مقالات و نوشته‌های فارسی در هر خانه‌ای که دانشمندی یا نویسنده‌ای در آن وجود داشت خودم را بآنجا میرسانیدم و بهر طوریکه ممکن بود درخواست و تقاضا می‌نمودم و از خرمنهای دانش ایران خوشه‌هائیکه مورد احتیاج مجلّه مذکور میبود میاندوختم تا آنرا بهندوستان ارسال میداشتم.

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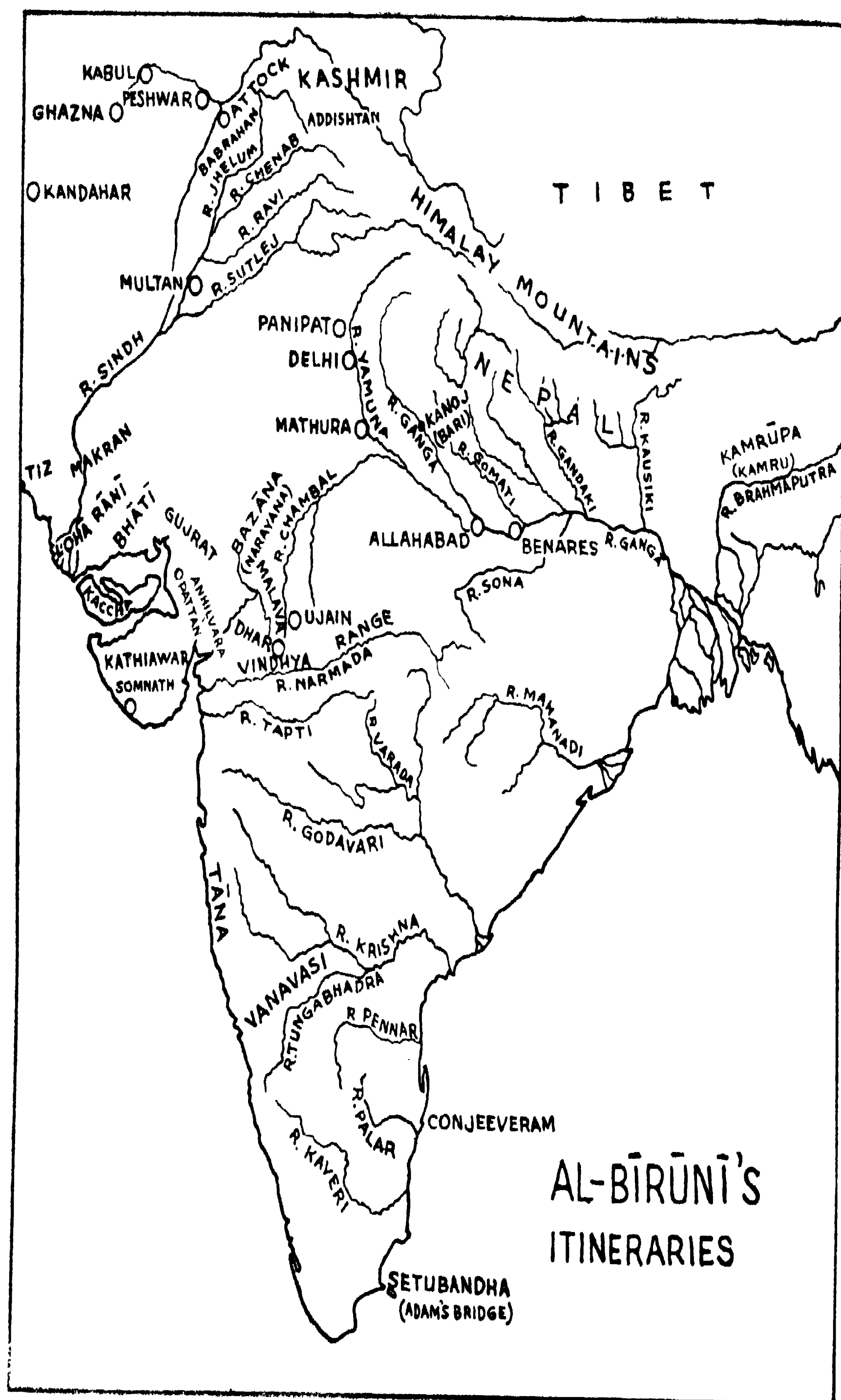
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AL-BIRUNI'S ITINERARIES
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# AL-BIRUNI'S KNOWLEDGE OF INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

*By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hony. F.R.A.S. (London), F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. (London).*

*Introduction*

Abū Raihān Muhammad, son of Ahmad, surnamed Al-Bīrūnī, was a learned mathematician, astronomer, geographer, and sanskritist. He entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. His work entitled *Taḥqīq mā li'l-Hind* which was finished in about 1030 A.D., gives us an account of religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws, and astrology of India. According to Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, 1872, pt. I, p. 186, note) *Tārīkh-i-Hind* is not the title of Al-Bīrūnī's work. Al-Bīrūnī's *India* has been edited with notes and indices by Dr. Edward C. Sachau. The annotations made by him seem to be hopelessly inadequate. All that we need is to have exhaustive and up to date notes which will be greatly helpful to us.

Here we are concerned with Al-Bīrūnī's geography.His knowledge of Indian Geography does not seem to be very extensive. He actually saw portions of *Matsya, Āditya* and *Vāyupurāṇas* as admitted by him (*India,* I, p. 130). He has supplied us with the names of countries taken from the *Vāyupurāṇa,* arranged according to four directions, and the names of countries taken from the *saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira, arranged according to nine directions. (*India,* I. pp. 299 ff). The countries and peoples of India arranged according to the position of *Kūrma* or tortoise, are given in my *Geographical Essays*, and they are treated in detail therein (pp. 172 ff). The list of countries and peoples of India given in the *Kūrmavibhāga* or the *Kūrmanivāsa* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (chap. 58), arranged according to the position of the country conceived as a tortoise, as it lies on the water resting upon *Viṣṇu* and looking eastwards, is based on earlier astronomical works like those of Parāśara and Varāhamihira. Most of these countries and peoples have already been mentioned in the *Navakhaṇḍa* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* but there are good many names which cannot be satisfactorily identified. Al-Bīrūnī also holds the same view (*India* I, pp. 300-303).

*Indian Coastal Places*

Al-Bīrūnī refers to some Indian coastal places. According to him Tawalleshar, Loharāṇī, Kacch (Cutch), Baga, Bāroī, Somanātha, Kanvāyat (Cambay), Tāna, Lārān, Vallabha, Kāñjī or Kāñcī (Coonjeevaram) and Darvad are the coastal places. The pirates of Kacch (Cutch) and

Somanātha committed robberies on sea in ships (*India*, I, pp. 208-209). Kāñcīpura (Modern Conjeevaram) is one of the notable centres of Buddhist learning in South India. It is divided into two parts—(1) Śivakāñcī and (2) Viṣṇukāñcī forming the western and eastern parts of the city. The temple at Sivakāñcī is the most ancient and the temple at Viṣṇukāñcī was built later. Some have divided Conjeevaram into three parts—(1) large Kāñcī, (2) small Kāñcī and (3) Pilayar Koliyam. This ancient city was influenced by Śaivaism, Buddhism and Jainism. The Kāmākṣī temple at Conjeevaram is the most ancient. In the temple of Kailāsanātha there is a figure of Ardhanārīśvara. In the temple of Kacchapeśvara Viṣṇu in the form of Kūrma is shown worshipping Śiva. In Viṣṇu-Conjeevaram which is the western part of the town, various forms of Viṣṇu are depicted in sculptures in the temple of Baikuṇṭha-Perumāl (Hultzsch, South Indian inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 259 f.n.; S. K. Aiyangar, *Indian History and Culture*, I, 1941, pp. 520 ff.; Law, *Historical Geographical of Ancient India*, pp. 161-162).

### *Islands*

According to Al-Bīrūnī the eastern islands which are nearer to China than to India are the islands of Zabaj, called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa (Gold island; *India*, I, p. 210). He also refers to Rāmeśvar (Ramsher) or Rāmeśvaram opposite to the island of Ceylon. The distance between Ramsher and Setubandha (Adam's bridge, Bridge of the ocean) is two *farsakh*[1] (*India*, I, p. 209). It is the dike of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, which he built from the continent to the castle Laṅkā. At present it consists of isolated mountains between which the ocean flows (*India*, I, p. 209). Laṅkā (Ceylon) is mentioned by our geographer as the cupola of the earth (*India*, I, p. 301). The island of Sarandīb, Singaldīb or Sangaladīp (Siṃhaladvīpa), identical with Ceylon according to him, lies in a great bay (*India*, I, p. 209).

According to Al-Bīrūnī India had once been a sea which by degrees was filled up by the alluvium of the streams. She is limited in the south by the Indian ocean and on all three other sides by the lofty mountains.

### *Seven Continents or dvīpas*

According to the religious tradition of the Hindus the earth is round and surrounded by a sea. On the sea lies an earth like a collar and on this earth lies again a round sea like a collar. The number of dry collars called islands is seven and likewise that of the seas. The size of both *dvīpas* and seas rises in such a way that each *dvīpa* is the double of the preceding *dvīpa*, each sea, the double of the preceding sea. (Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, I, p. 233: Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Ch. 54-7: Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyap.* tr. p. 275). Al-Bīrūnī on the authority of the *Matsya* and *Viṣṇupurāṇas*

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[1] One farsakh = 4 miles.

gives an account of the seven dvīpas or continents. The *Jambudvīpa*[1] is the central dvīpa. It is named after a tree growing on it, the branches of which extend over a space of one hundred *yojanas*.[2] (*India,* I, p. 251). It is shaped like a bullock-cart with its face towards the south. In the great epic it is poetically conceived as one resembling from south and north a bended bow of which the string being pulled by the hand forms an apex at Dhanuṣkoṭi, Rāmasetu or Rāmeśvaram (*Mahābhārata,* Bhīṣmaparva, 6.38). According to a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, India is broad on the north whereas in the south it has the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts (*Dīgha,* II. p. 235). This description of the shape of India greatly corresponds to the actual shape of the country which is broad towards the north and narrow towards the south. It agrees well with that given by the Chinese author *Fah-Kai-lih-to. Śākadvīpa* has seven great rivers, one of which equals the Ganges in purity. The inhabitants are pious and long-lived. The Kuśadvīpa has seven mountains according to the *Matsyapurāṇa.* The Yamunā is the greatest of all the rivers. The inhabitants are pious and sinless according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* quoted by Al-Bīrūnī. The *Krauñcadvīpa* has mountains, rivers and kingdoms and the people are pious and pure. The *Śālmalī* or *Śālmaladvīpa* has mountains and rivers. Its inhabitants are pure, long-lived, mild and free from anger. The climate never alters in cold or heat. The *Gomedadvīpa* has two great mountains and two kingdoms. According to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* the inhabitants are pious. The climate is healthy and pleasant. The *Puṣkaradvīpa* is named after a big tree called *Nyagrodha* or banyan according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa.* The people are long-lived and free from ambition. All bliss is given to them (*India,* ed. E. C. Sachau, popular ed., Ch. XXIV, pp. 251 ff). According to Al-Bīrūnī Bhāratavarṣa is not India alone. India is not traversed by an ocean, separating one portion from the other (*Ibid.,* Ch. XXIX, p. 295). Of these seven islands, the Jambudvīpa which is the most alluded to in various sources,[3] is generally identified with Bhāratavarṣa or the Indian Peninsula.

*Eight dvīpas according to Buddhist system*
*Nine dvīpas according to the Hindus*

The Buddhist system includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands that comprise the world, but counts eight *dvīpas,* instead of seven and has different names for some of the *samudras* (Pullee's *Studi Italini di Filologia Indo-Iranica,* Vol. IV, pp. 15-16; *JRAS,* 1902, p. 142; *Ibid.,* 1907, p. 42). The Jain tradition has new names for the several *dvīpas*

[1] *Mārkaṇḍeyap,* Canto LIV; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Tr.* pp. 275 ff. about the description of *Jambudvīpa.*

[2] One yojana = 8 miles.

[3] Vide Legge, *Fa-Hien,* p. 26; Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* p. 4; *Vinaya Texts,* I, p. 127.

as well as for the *samudras*.[1] The *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Matsya* and *Vāyu-purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* refer to nine divisions of India. Of the nine *dvīpa*s eight have been shown to be divisions not of India proper but of greater India and are islands and countries that encircle the Indian peninsula.[2] The fact was long noted by Al-Bīrūnī and Abu'l-Faẓl.[3] This Indian peninsula is the ninth *dvīpa* which is girt by sea and is called Kumārīdvīpa, one thousand *yojanas* in length from south to north. This description of India is unknown to Buddhist tradition.

### *Madhyadeśa*

Al-Bīrūnī points out that the middle of India is the country round Kanauj. This is called Madhyadeśa or the middle of the realms. In the middle or centre from a geographical point of view, in so far as it lies half-way between the sea and the mountains, in the midst between the hot and the cold provinces and also between the eastern and western frontiers of India. But it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the home of their most famous heroes and kings (*India*, Ch. XVIII, p. 198). Al-Bīrūnī does not seem to be correct when he says that Madhyadeśa is the middle country, the country all around Kanauj which is also called Āryāvarta (*India*, I, Ch. XVI, p. 173). Really speaking the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa may be described as having extended in the east to the city of Puṇḍravardhana (which included Varendra roughly identical with North Bengal), in the south to the city of Sarāvatī or Salalavatī on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin Brahmin villages of Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇa and in the north to the Uśīragiri or Uśīradhvaja mountain. Sthūṇa may be identified with Sthānīśvara or Thāneśvara (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Intro. p. XLIII, f.n. 2). Uśīradhvaja may be identified with the Uśīragiri, a mountain to the north of Kanakhala near Haridvāra or modern Hardwar (*IA*., 1905, 179). The Siwalik range through which the Ganges forces her way into the plains may be identified with the Uśīragiri. According to a later Buddhist text the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himalayas and the Pāripātra (Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhyas. The Madhyadeśa, in the opinion of others, extended in the east to the town of Kajaṅgala, in the south-east to the river Salalavatī, in the south to the town of Satakaṇṇika, in the west to the Brahmin district of Sthūṇa and in the north to the Uśīradvaja mountain. (Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. XV-XVI; Law, *Geographical Essays*, pp. 7-12).

### *Sixteen Itineraries*

Al-Bīrūnī gives sixteen itineraries. The starting points of these itineraries are Kanoj, Māhūra (Mathurā), Anhilvāra (Pattan), Dhār in

[1] B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, Chap. I.
[2] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, App. I, (1924 Ed.), 749-754.
[3] Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, I, 295; *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, III, p. 7.

Mālava and Bārī, the temporary capital of the kingdom of Kanoj after the old capital was taken by the Muslims, and Bazāna. The sixteen itineraries are the following:—(1) From Kanoj to Allahabad and thence towards the eastern coast of India as far as Kāñcī (Conjeeveram) and farther south. (2) From Kanoj (or Bārī) to Benares and thence to the mouth of the Ganges. (3) From Kanoj eastwards as far as Kāmarūpa (Kāmru) and northward to Nepal and the Tibetan frontier. (4) From Kanoj southward as far as Vanavāsī on the southern coast. (5) From Kanoj to Bazāna or Nārayāṇa the then capital of Gujrat. (6) From Mathurā to Dhār the capital of Mālava. (7) From Bazāna to Dhār and Ujain (Ujjayinī). (8) From Dhār in Mālava towards the Godāvarī. (9) From Dhār to Tāna on the coast of the Indian ocean. (10) From Bazāna to Somanātha on the southern coast of Kathiawar. (11) From Anhilvāra (Modern Pattan) to Tāna on the west coast, north of Bombay. (12) From Bazāna *via* Bhātī to Loharāṇī at the mouth of the Sindh river. (13) From Kanoj to Kashmīr. (14) From Kanoj to Panipat, Attock, Kabul, and Ghāznā. (15) From Babrahān to Addishtān, the capital of Kashmīr. (16) From Tīz in Makrān along the coast as far as Setubandha (Adam's bridge), opposite Ceylon. (Sachau, Al-Bīrūnī's *India,* Annotations, pp. 316-317).

### *Countries and Peoples*

According to Al-Bīrūnī Khurasān, Persia, Irāk, Mosul and the country upto the frontier of Syria were Buddhistic (*India,* I, p. 21). Vārāṇasī and Kasmīr are the high schools of Hindu sciences (*Ibid.,* p. 173, Ch. XVI). The fort Daihak near Somanāth was the home of Nāgārjuna who was the author of a book on *Rasāyana*[1] (*Ibid.,* I, p. 189). Dhāra was the capital of Mālava ruled by Bhojadeva (*Ibid.,* I, p. 191). Vallabhī was a city ruled by Vallabha (*Ibid.,* I, p. 192). According to Vincent Smith the territory of Vallabhī (Walā) was in eastern Kāthiāwar (*EHI,* p. 342). Some hold that Walā was in the peninsular portion of Gujarat (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.,* 4th Ed., p. 490). The country of Sindh lies to the west of Kanoj. Kanoj lies to the west of the Ganges, a very large town. Most of it was in ruins and desolate since the transfer of the capital to the city of Bārī, east of the Ganges. As Kanoj (Kānyakubja)[2] has become famous by the children of Pāṇḍu, the city of Mahūra (Mathurā or Modern Muttra) has become famous by Vāsudeva. It lies to the east of the river Jaun (Yamunā).

[1] It means an art which is restricted to certain operations, drugs and compound medicines, most of which are taken from plants (*India,* I, p. 188).

[2] Also known as Gādhipura, Kuśasthala and Mahadaya. It was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. It had 100 Buddhist establishments in his time. The people were honest and sincere. The Ganges was on the west side of Kanauj and not on the east as held by Cunningham (For details vide Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* pp 93-94).

The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is 28 *farsakh.*[1] Thāneśvara (Tāneśvar) lies between the two rivers to the north of Kanoj and Mathurā, at a distance of nearly 80 *farsakh* from Kanoj, and nearly 50 *farsakh* from Mathurā. Sthāneśvara (Sthāniśvara) or Tāneshar according to Al-Bīrūnī is said to have been derived either from the *sthāna,* i.e., the abode of Īśvara or Mahādeva or from the junction of the names of Sthānu and Īśvara. The famous battlefield of Kurukṣetra is situated on the southern side of Thāneśvara, about 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles north of Panipat. The distance from Prayāga (modern Allahabad) to the place where the Ganges flows into the sea is 12 *farsakh.* Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Tree of Prayāga. Prayāga stands at the confluence of the three rivers, the Gaṅgā (Ganges), the Yamunā (Jumna) and the Sarasvati, which is one of the historical rivers of northern India.[2] Marching from Bārī along the Ganges on its eastern side the following places are passed through—(1) Ayodhyā (Ajodaha),[3] 25 *farsakh* from Bārī ; (2) Vārāṇasī (modern Benares), 20 *farsakh* ; (3) Sharwār, 35 *farsakh* from Benares ; (4) Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna) or Kusumapura, 20 *farsakh* ; (5) Mungiri (modern Monghyr), 15 *farsakh* and (6) the Gaṅgāsāgara (Gaṅgāsāyara), where the Ganges flows into the sea, 30 *farsakh.* Marching from Kanoj towards the east we come to Bārī, 10 *farsakh* (*India,* I, pp. 200-201). Regarding the location of Bārī, it is situated 10 *farsakh* or three or four days' march from Kanoj towards the east of the Ganges. It is 25 *farsakh* distant from Oudh.

Naipāla (modern Nepal)[4] has been described as an ascending country. Bhoṭeshar is the first frontier of Tibet. Proceeding from Kanoj towards the south-east on the western side of the Ganges we come to Jajāhūti, 30 *farsakh* from Kanoj, the capital being Kajūraha. The two famous fortresses of India, Gwalior and Kālañjar, are situated between Jajāhūti and Kanoj.

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[1] *farsakh*=4 miles, 16,000 yards. Alberuni values his *farsakh* at four Arabian miles=$3\frac{771}{1093}$ English miles or approximately 4×2186 yards, hence one farsakh=$4\frac{1794}{1769}$ English miles. The distance of eight *farsakh* corresponds according to Alberuni's reckoning to about 39 English miles (*JASB.,* 1899.).

Extra No. 2 p. 24 & fn. 4; Sachau, Alberuni's *India,* Popular Ed., p. 316).

[2] It is a Himalayan river and its source is traceable to the Himalayan range above the Simla hills. This river which still survives flows between the Sutlej and the Jumna.

[3] One of the holy places of the Hindus. This town is situated on the banks of the Sarayū river, about six miles from the Fyzabad railway station. It was the capital of southern Kośala. According to Al-Bīrūnī it is situated 150 miles south-east from Kanauj.

[4] Slesmātaka was the former name of Nepāla. The boundary of Nepal is as follows: on the east flows the river Kauśikī, on the west the Triśūlagaṅgā, on the north Sivapurī (Kailāsa) and on the south flows a river (Nepāla Māhātyma, Ch. 15, ślokas 3-5). Nepal was a buffer state in the 7th century, A.D. In the 8th century A.D. she shook off her dependence on Tibet. The temple of Paśupatinātha or Paśupati in Mṛgasthala in Nepal is one of the celebrated Hindu temples situated on the western bank of the Bāgmatī river in the town of Devipatan founded by Aśoka's daughter Cārumatī, about three miles north-west of Kātmaṇḍu (Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* pp 113-114).

Kālañjara is the well-known hill-fort in Bundelkhand. Under the Gupta rulers it was the capital of Cedi. The ruler of Dahāla country, the capital of which is Tiauri, is Gaṅgeya. Al-Bīrūnī locates Vanavāsī[1] on the sea-coast. Bazāna, the capital of Gujrat, 20 *farsakh* and Rājauri (Rajori), 15 *farsakh*, are situated on the south-west of Kanoj. Rājauri has been identified with Rājapurī (Rājawarī). The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is the same as that between Kanoj and Bazāna (i.e., 28 *farsakh*). Bhailasān, 5 *farsakh*, is a famous place of the Hindus. The idol worshipped there is Mahākāla. From Ujain to Bhailasān the distance is 10 *farsakh*. Bhailasān belongs to Mālava. Dhār which is the capital of Mālava, is situated at a distance of 7 *farsakh*. Maiwar (modern Mewar in Rajputana) is situated at a distance of 25 *farsakh* from Bazāna. Jattaraur which is evidently Jetuttara or Jettuttara[2] is the capital of Mewar (*India*, I, p. 202). From Jattaraur to Mālava[3] and its capital Dhār the distance is 20 *farsakh*. The city of Ujain (Ujjayinī, Gr. Ozene) lies 7 *farsakh* to the east of Dhār. Bhūmihara is situated at a distance of 20 *farsakh* from Dhār. Namāvur stands on the banks of the Narmadā, and Mandagir on the banks of the Godāvarī. Namiyya, 7 *farsakh* from Dhār and Mahrattadeśa[4] (Mahārāṣṭra), 18 *farsakh*, are referred to by Al-Bīrūnī. The province of Kunkan (Konkan)[5] and its capital Tāna are on the sea-coast, 25 *farsakh* (*India*, I, p. 203, Chap. XVIII). Gandharva has been placed by our geographer on the

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[1] Vanavāsī (*Gr. Banaouasei*). It was a well-known region of the south in North Kanara in historical times and not unknown to the author of the *Harivaṁśa* (XCV. 5213 & 5231-3). It is ancient Vaijayantīpura also known as Jayantīpura, capital of the Kadambas and the Vejayantī of epigraphic records. It is held to be the same as the Buzantion of the *Periplus*.

[2] It is identified by some with Nāgarī, a locality 11 miles north of Chitor (N. L. Dey, *Geograpical Dictionary*, p. 81).

[3] The Mālavas (the Malloi) gradually spread themselves over considerable portions of Northern India after having first settled in the Punjab. They then established their settlements in Rajputana, Central India, in different localities in the United provinces, in the country known in ancient days as Lāṭadeśa (comprising Broach, Cutch, Vaḍnagar, and Ahmedabad) and finally in modern Malwa, (Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 27).

[4] It is the Deccan in the narrowest sense (*South Indian Inscriptions*, I, p. 113, f. n. 3). It is called in Chinese *Mo-ho-la-cha*. It is really the country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between this river and the Kriṣṇā. According to the Aihole Inscriptions there are three divisions in it, each is called Mahārāṣṭraka in the 7th century A.D. (*IA.*, XXII, 1893, p. 184). For further details please refer to S. R. Spende, *How, Whence, and When Mahārāṣṭra came into being* published in the *Siddha-Bhārati*, Pt. II., and H. D. Sankalia, *Ancient & Prehistoric Mahārāṣṭra*, *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 27, Pt. I, 1951, New Series.

[5] Koṅkan includes the strip of land between the western ghats and the Arabian sea (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 283 note). Aparānta is identified with northern Koṅkan with its capital at Sūrpāraka (modern Sopara)—Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 392.

north-west of the Madhyadeśa and identified with Gandhāra[1] (Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa, 113.11 ; 114.11). Al-Bīrūnī points out that Sauvīra[2] may be identified with Multan and Jahrāvār (*India*, I, p. 302). Tilvat was ancient Tirhut. Kavitāl (Kawītal) may be identified with Kapisthala now Kapurtala (*Annotations*, p. 320). Bāroī has been identified by some with Baroda (*Annotations*, p. 320). Bihroj may be identified with modern Broach (*Annotations*, p. 319). Bhātul is a sub-Himalayan country between the Beas and the Sutlej. The country of Tāmraparṇa[3] is situated, according to him, in the south (*Ibid.*, I, p. 301).

Marching from Bazāna towards the south-west we come to Anhilvāra, 60 *farsakh* from Bazāna ; Somanātha on the sea-coast, 50 *farsakh*. Marching from Anhilvāra southward we come to Lārdeśa. Anhilvāra otherwise known as Analavāṭa is modern Pattan in North Baroda (Sachau, *Annotations*, p. 319). Marching from Bazāna towards the west we come to Multan, 50 *farsakh* from Bazāna. The people of Multan used to say that they had no *varṣākāla* (rainy-season) (*India*, I, p. 211). Multan was originally called Kāśyapapura, then Haṃsapura, then Bagapura, then Sāmbhapura and then Mūlasthāna (*India*, I, p. 298). Marching from Bhātī towards the south-west we come to Loharāṇī at the mouth of the Sindh river, 30 *farsakh*. Marching from Kanoj towards the north-north-west we come to Śirśāraha, 50 *farsakh* from Kanoj ; Dahmāla, the capital of Jālandhar[4] at the foot of the mountains, 18 *farsakh*, and the fortress of Rājagiri, 8 *farsakh*. Then marching northward we come to Kashmīr, 25 *farsakh*. Marching from Kanoj towards the west we come to Kutī, 10 *farsakh*, Ānār, 10 *farsakh*,

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1 Gandhāra was situated on the north-western frontiers of India. It denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar in the north-west frontier province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab. It seems to include also the district of Kabul in Afghanisthan. It was the district of eastern Afghanisthan probably including the north-west Punjab. Some hold that it included the west Punjab and eastern Afghanisthan. In the *Aın-i-Akbari* Gandhāra forms the district of Pukely lying between Kashmir and Attock (Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 10).

2 The people of Sauvīra otherwise called the Sauvīras seem to have been very ancient. They are mentioned in the Baudhāyana's *Dharmasūtra* (I. 1. 2). In later literature they are often connected with their neighbouring tribe, the Sindhus. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bengal recension, Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa, 41, 8-10) the Sindhu-Sauvīras were settled in the western division of India. They played an important part in the Kurukṣetra War. According to the *Agnipurāṇa* (Chap. 200) the river Devikā but according to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (verse 10) the river Ikṣumatī flowed through Sauvīra. Towards the middle of the 2nd century A.D. the land of the Sindhus and the Sauvīras seems to have been administered by the Kṣatrapa rulers of Western India.

3 In the XIIIth Rock Edict of Aśoka, it is placed below Pāṇḍya. In the great epic too it is situated below Pāṇḍya or Drāviḍa and the mount Vaidūryaka is mentioned as its rocky landmark. The hermitages of the sage Agastya and his disciple and the Gokarṇatīrtha are located in it. All these facts enable us to identify it with Hiuen Tsang's Malayakūṭa also placed below Drāviḍa with the Mount Potalaka (Vaidūryaka) as its landmark.

4 The state of Chamba on the north, Mandi and Sukhet on the east, and the Śatadru on the south-east are included in it.

Mirāt (modern Meerut), 10 *farsakh*, and Pānipat, 10 *farsakh*. Between Mirāt and Pānipat flows the river Jaun (Yamunā). Marching towards the north-west we come to Ādittahaur, Jajjanīr, Mandahūkūr, capital of Lauhāwur (modern Lahore) east of the river Irāwa (Rāvī) ; the river Candrāha (Candrabhāgā), the river Jailam (Jhelum), Waihind (Ohind), the capital of Kandāhār (Kandhār), Purshāwar (modern Peshawar), Kabul, (Kāyabish) and Ghaznā (*India*, I, pp. 205-206). According to Al-Bīrūnī, Takṣaśilā[1] is Mārīkala and Puṣkalāvatī is Pūkala (*India*, I, p. 302).

Kaśmīr[2] (Kāśmīr) lies on a plateau surrounded by high and inaccessible mountains. The south and east of the country belong to the Hindus and the west, to various kings. The north and a portion of the east belong to the Turks of Khotan and Tibet. The distance from the Bhoṭeśvar peak to Kāśmīr through Tibet amounts to nearly 300 *farsakh*. Al-Bīrūnī says that the inhabitants of Kaśmīr are pedestrians ; they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins carried on the shoulders of men, they are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and therefore they take much care to guard their entrances. He further says that in former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country particularly the Jews but at present they do not allow any unknown Hindu to enter (Alberuni, *India*, I, pp. 206-207). The best known entrance to Kāśmīr is from the town Babrahān, half-way between the rivers Sindh and Jailam (Jhelum). Addishtān was its capital. The city of Kāśmīr covers a space of 4 *farsakh* being built along both banks of the river Jailam (Jhelum). Al-Bīrūnī had the opportunity of collecting information about Kāśmīr during his long stay at Ghāznā and in the Punjab (A.D. 1017-30). He mentions Kasmirian scholars and refers to his personal acquaintance with the fortress Lauhūr on the confines of Kaśmīr, which may be identified with the castle of Lohārā. Its position is marked by the present Loharin on the southern slope of the Pirpanjal range (*JASB.*, Extra No. 2, 1899, p. 22). The Loharakoṭṭa of the Kashmirian Chronicle, *Rājataraṅginī*, is the same as the Fort of Loh-kot. Lauhūr is identical with the Loharakoṭṭa of the Chronicle, the present Loharin according to some (*JASB.*, Extra No. 2,1899, p. 27). The fortresses of Rājagiri and Lauhūr are, according to Al-Bīrūnī, the two

[1] Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila) formed the eastern part of the old kingdom of Gandhāra. According to the Greek geographer Strabo it lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum). Some hold that the site of Taxila is to be found near Shah-Dheri just one mile to the north-east of Kāla-kā-sarāi. The ruins of this kingdom are spread near Saraikālā in the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab. Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī or the Peukelaotis of Arrian or Peukalei of Dionysius Periegetes is identified with the modern Prāng and Chārsadda, 17 miles north-east of Peshawar on the Swat river. It was the earlier capital of Gandhāra situated to the west of the river Indus. It lay on the road from Kābul to the Indus when Alexander invaded India. Arrian tells us that the river Kābul falls into the Indus in the land called Peukelaotis. (Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, pp. 183-184; Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 14).

[2] Alberuni's account of Kāśmīr is given in Chap. XVIII of his *India* (I. 206 ff.).

strongest places (Cf. *IA.*, 1897—The Castle of Lohārā). Rājagiri must be looked for somewhere in the upper Suran valley (*JASB.*, 1899, Extra No. 2, p. 27). Addishtān, the capitan of Kaśmīr, is of course meant for Śrīnagara.

It may be noted here that Kaśmīr or the Kaspeira[1] of Ptolemy lies to the north of the Punjab. It saw interesting developments in literature, religion and philosophy. This city was known to Pāṇini (4.2.133) and Patañjali (3.2.2, pp. 188-189 ; 1.1.6, p. 276). The author of the *Sragdharāstotraṃ* was a Buddhist monk of Kaśmīr. A monk named Madhyantika was sent to this place as a missionary by his spiritual guide Ānanda. Mārtāṇḍa, the temple of the Sun, stands on a slope about 3 miles east of Islamabad overlooking the finest view in Kaśmīr ; and Pāyech, lying about 19 miles from Śrīnagara, contains an ancient temple, which in intrinsic beauty and elegance of outline is superior to all existing remains in Kaśmīr of similar dimensions. Kāśmīra or Kaśmīra was the home of a school of Śaivism, having a philosophy similar to that of Advaita as developed by Śaṅkara.

At the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang the kingdom of Kāśmīra was about 7,000 li in circuit and was enclosed on all sides by high mountains. The capital of this kingdom on the west was bordered by the river Vitastā (modern Jhelum). The soil was fertile, and hence cereals, fruits and flowers were found in abundance. The climate was cold and stern. The people were good looking. They were fond of learning. There were heretics and believers among them. After the dissolution of the third Buddhist Council Moggaliputta Tissa was sent here for the propagation of Buddhism. In Aśoka's time it was included in the Maurya dominion (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, 148 ff.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 267-71 ; V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, p. 76).

The town of *Ūshkārā* through which the Jailām (Jhelum) passes, stands for Ushkūr or Ushkar opposite Barāmūla (Baramūlā),[2] the ancient Huṣkapura or Huviṣkapura mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Huṣkapura was founded by the Indo-Scythian prince Huṣka or Huviṣka, the brother of Kaniṣka.[3] Gilgit, Aswīra (modern Hasōr, Astōr), and Shiltas (Cilās) are the towns of the Turkish tribe called the Bhattavaryān.[4]

Al-Bīrūnī has given a list of countries and peoples not only from the *Vāyupurāṇa* but also from the *Samhitā* of Varāhamihira (*India*, I, pp. 299-303). An attempt has been made here to deal with some of them as briefly as possible in the light of modern researches.

The ancient *Kuru country* may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra or Thāneswar. The district included Sonapat, Amir, Karnal and Panipat and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and Driṣadvatī

[1] McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 108, 360.

[2] Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, I. pp. 206-207.

[3] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, Majumdar Ed., 1924, p. 115.

[4] *JASB.*, 1899, Extra No. 2, p. 26.

on the south. In Brāhmana literature the Kurus acquired the greatest prominence among the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. They are often connected with the Pañcālas and from the way in which the Kuru-Pañcālas are mentioned, there is no room for doubt that it was in the country inhabited by them that some of the most famous Brāhmaṇa works were composed. Buddhist literature contains references to the princes and peoples playing a leading part in the Kuruland (*Majjhima*, II, 65 ff.; *Dhammapada Comm.*, III, pp. 241-242). Hastināpura was the ancient capital of the Kurus. It was situated on the Ganges in the modern Meerut district of the United Provinces. The second capital was Indraprastha, the modern Indrapat, near Delhi. (For details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. III).

The *Pañcāla country* was divided into two divisions: Northern Pañcāla, having Ahicchatra (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) as its capital, and southern Pañcāla having its capital at Kāmpilya (identical with modern Kampil in the Farokhabad district, U.P.). Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalayas to the river Chambal. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Farokhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces. The Pañcālas like the Kurus are most intimately connected with the Vedic civilisation of the Brāhmaṇa period. Several of the Pañcāla kings are mentioned in Vedic literature. Pañcāla continued to be one of the great and powerful countries of Northern India down to the time of the Buddha. Jain and Buddhist literature also contains references to Pañcāla. For details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. IV.

The *Śālvas* were an important people of ancient India and are referred to in the epics and *purāṇas*. The Śālva country was situated according to the *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭaparva, Ch. I) near Kurukṣetra and was the kingdom of the father of Satyavān, husband of Sāvitrī (*Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Ch. 282). According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Ch. 113 ; cf. Cunningham, *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, XX, 120), the Śālvas probably occupied the territory under the native state of Alwar. Their capital seems to have been Śālvapura, (*Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Ch. 14) also known as Saubhaganagara. They lent their support to the army of Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas in the great Kurukṣetra War.

The *Śūrasenas* had Mathurā as their capital which stood on the river Yamunā. Buddhism was prominent in this city for several centuries. The epic and puranic story of Kaṃsa's attempt to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and his consequent death at the hands of Kriṣṇa is well-known to us. This city was visited by the Buddha (*Aṅguttara*, II, 57 ; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 118-119). The Jain cult was also practised here. At the time of Megasthanes (300 B.C.) Mathurā was also known as the centre of Kriṣṇa worship. The Bhāgavata religion, the parent of modern Vaiṣṇavism, also arose in Mathurā. Mathurā was then a city in which many divergent religious sects flourished side by side.

To the Hindus its sanctity was and still is very great. It is one of the seven holy places of Hinduism, as it was the birth-place of Krisna.

Mathurā must have formed a part of the Maurya empire at the time of Megasthenes. During the Kuṣāṇa supremacy she again became important as a centre of Buddhist religion and culture.

The kingdom of *Vatsa* or *Vaṃsa* had Kauśāmbī (identical with modern Kosam, near Allahabad) as its capital. The Vatsas were the people of the Vedic Aryandom from the earliest period. The land of the Vatsas was above 6,000 li in circuit according to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 365). For further details, *vide*, my *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XXIX.

The country of the *Kuntalas* of the Madhyadeśa should be identified with the region called Kuntila near Chunar. (*Archæological Survey of India*, XI, 123). Whatever be the merit of the identification, the Kuntalas of the Madhyadeśa do not seem to have attained any historical eminence. The Kuntalas of the west have hardly any place in history, but the Kuntalas of the Deccan appear to have risen to great importance in historical times. Some Mysore inscriptions[1] point out that the Kuntala region included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the northern portion of Mysore.

*Kāśī* (Benares) was a great political power before the time of the Buddha. It was a kingdom according to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ādikāṇḍa, XII, 20). The kings of Kāśī from time to time fought with the Kosalan kings. Sometimes Kāśī extended its suzerain power over Kośala and sometimes Kośala conquered Kāśī. In Buddha's time Kāśī lost her political power. It was incorporated sometime into the Kosalan kingdom and sometime into the Magadhan kingdom. Kāśī was finally conquered and incorporated into the Magadhan kingdom. The capital of Kāśī was Vārāṇasī. Here the Buddha gave his first discourse on the Wheel of Law (*Majjhima*, I, 170 ff.; *Samyutta*, V, 420 ff.).

*Kośala* lay to the east of the Kurus and Pañcālas and to the west of the Videhas, from whom it was separated by the river Sadānira, probably the great Gaṇḍak (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 308). Some hold that the northern frontier of Kośala must have been in the hills of Nepal ; its southern boundary was the Ganges and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Śākya territory of Kapilavastu (*CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 178). According to Macdonell and Keith Kośala lay to the north-east of the Ganges and corresponded roughly to the modern Oudh (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 190). Kośala was divided into northern and southern Kośala, the capital cities of which were Śrāvastī and Sāketa. From the epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital, and Sāketa the next. In Buddha's time Ayodhyā became an unimportant town, but Sāketa and Śrāvastī were two of the six great cities of India. Some think that Sāketa

[1] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 3; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 284, f.n. 2.

and Ayodhyā were identical but Prof. Rhys Davids has been successful in pointing out that both the cities were existing in Buddha's time. Śrāvastī was situated in the province of Oudh. It is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti called Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United provinces. For further details, *vide* my *Tribes in Ancient India,* Ch. XXVIII.

*Magadha* roughly corresponds to modern Patna and Gaya districts of Behar. Its earliest capital was Girivraja or old Rājagriha, near Rajgir, among the hills near Gayā. It was an important centre of Buddhism. In Aśoka's time Pāṭaliputra was his capital. During the early Buddhist period it was an important political and commercial centre. It maintained friendly relations by marriage and other alliances not only with the northern neighbours, but also with the western kingdom of Gandhāra. For further details, *vide* Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India* (Royal Asiatic Society Publication No. 24).

The *Prāgjyotiṣas* were a people of non-Aryan extraction. The epics describe Prāgjyotiṣa as an *asura-dānava* kingdom. The *Mahābhārata* locates it in the northern region but the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* places it in the eastern region. The capital of Kāmarūpa is called Prāgjyotiṣapura which has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati. Some hold that Prāgjyotiṣa was the same as Kāmarūpa. Kālidāsa locates it beyond the Brahmaputra but Kālidāsa's knowledge of distant geographical locations is not always satisfactory. For all practical purposes Prāgjyotiṣa may therefore be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with northern Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar, which is the territory comprised by Kāmarūpa (*Imperial Gazetteers of India,* XIV, p. 331). For further details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* Ch. LVI.

*Tāmraliptika* or *Tāmralipta* may be identified with modern Tamluk. It is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpnārāyaṇa formed by the united stream of Silai (Śilāvatī) and Dalkishor or Dvārikeśvarī in the district of Midnapore in Bengal. It was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Sumha in the 6th century of the Christian era and formed a part of Magadhan kingdom under the Mauryas (V. A. Smith, *Aśoka,* pp. 78-79).

In ancient times *Vaṅga* denoted only a portion of modern Bengal. Among the important divisions of Vaṅga in ancient days were included Samataṭa (modern Faridpur) and for sometime Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk). It really stood for eastern Bengal comprising the modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions. For further details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* Ch. LI.

The *Pāṇḍya* kingdom comprised the greater part of the modern Madura and Tinnevelly districts and also southern Travancore in the first century of the Christian era. It had its capital originally at Kolkai on the Tāmraparṇī river in Tinnevelly and later at Madura (southern Mathura). Some hold that the Pāṇḍya country corresponded to the Madura, Ramnad and

Tinnevelly districts and perhaps the southern portion of the Travancore State. It was watered by the rivers Tāmraparṇī and Kritamālā or Vaigai. For further details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XLIV.

*Kerala* or *Cera* is the country south of Kūpaka or Satya, extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore. According to some Kerala or Cera territory comprised Travancore, Cochin and the Malabar district. The Koṅgu-deśa corresponding to the Coimbatore district and the southern part of the Salem district, was later annexed to it (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 595). The Kerala or Cera territory was watered by the river Periyar on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji near Cochin.

*The kingdom of Vanavāsī* was a well known region of the south in north Kanara in historical times. It was known to the author of the *Harivamśa* (XCV, 5213, 5231-3) and the *Vāyupurāṇa* (XLV, 125). In the Bhīṣmaparva list of the *Mahābhārata* occurs Vanavāsakā (IX, 366).

According to the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, Ch. XIII, the *Maratha country* (*Mahārāṣṭra*) was watered by the Upper Godāvarī. It lay between the Godāvarī and the Kriṣṇā. Aśoka sent Mahādhammarakṣita for the spread of Buddhism in this country.

The *Kalinga country* lay to the south of Vaṅga beyond the river Kapiśā (modern Kāsāi in the Midnapore district) and stretched southwards so far as to include the mount Mahendra (portions of the eastern ghats above the river Godāvarī ; cf. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 38-43). The ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised the modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam (*Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, CXIV, 10096-10107). According to the *Kūrmapurāṇa* (II, XXXIX, 19), it included the Amarakaṇṭaka hills. The Hāthigumphā inscription clearly shows that the capital of Kaliṅga during the reign of Khāravela was Kalinganagara identified with Mukhaliṅgaṃ on the Vaṃśadharā and the adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district, Madras Presidency.

*Śūrpāraka* was a sea-port town identical with Supārā or Sopārā in the district of Thānā, 37 miles north of Bombay and about 4 miles north-west of Bassein.

The *Ābhīras* were located in the western division of India (*Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, Ch. 51). Later epigraphic evidence places the Ābhīras in the west, but the *Purāṇas* seem to locate them in the northern division. Al-Bīrūnī is wrong in placing them in the south. Wilson in his translation of the *Viṣṇupurāna* (Vol. II, 168, f.n. 4) points out that the people along the Indus from Surat to the Himalayas, are often regarded as either western or northern nations. A more definite location of the tribe is given in the *Mahābhārata* (IX, 37, 1) which places them in the west Rajputana 'where the Sarasvatī disappears.'

*Surāṣṭra* comprises modern Kathiawar and other portions of Guzrat. The river Sātodikā flowed along the borders of the Surāṣṭra country or the Su-la-cha of Yuan Chwang (*Jātaka*, V. p. 133 ; *Jātaka*, III, p. 463). It

was ruled by the Yādavas. Ptolemy refers to Syrastrene which must be identical with Surāṣṭra (modern Sorath in Kathiawar on the gulf of Kanthi or the gulf of Cutch or Kaccha). Al-Bīrūnī is wrong in locating Surāṣṭra in the south.

The *Bhojas* were a southern people. They spread over central and southern India in very early times. They are declared to have been descended from Druhyu, the third son of Yayāti, the great ancestor of the Kuru-Pāṇḍavas. They dwelt at Mathurā, the capital of Śūrasenas, on the banks of the Yamunā. For further details, *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India,* Ch. LXXI. Al-Bīrūnī does not seem to be correct when he locates the Bhojas on the west.

The *people of Mālava* settled themselves originally in the Punjab. They gradually spread themselves over considerable portions of northern India and established their settlements in Rajputana, Central India, in different localities of the United Provinces, in the country known in ancient times as Lāṭadeśa (comprising Broach, Cutch, Vaḍnagar and Ahmedabad) and finally in modern Malwa. They successfully maintained their tribal organisation from the time of Pāṇini till at least as late as the time of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.). For further details *vide* my *Tribes Ancient India,* Ch. VIII.

The people of *Mekala* inhabited the tract of country comprising the modern Amarakaṇṭaka hills and the surrounding regions. In ancient times the Amarakaṇṭaka range was known as Mekala. As the river Narmadā has its source in this range, she is known as *Mekalasutā* or *Mekalakanyā* or *Mekalā* (S. Konow, *Karpūramañjarī,* p. 182 ; *Amarakoṣa,* I, 2, 3, 32 etc.; *Abhidhānaratnamālā,* III, 52).

According to some *Ānarta* or *Ānartta* was the territory around Dvārakā but others hold it to be the district round Vaḍnagara (*Bombay Gazetteer,* I, i. 6).

According to the *Purāṇas Bhogavardhana* was one of the countries in the Deccan. It seems to have been situated in the Godāvarī region but the location of the place is unknown. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 48-49) the Bhogavardhanas are placed in the southern region along with the Maulikas, Aśmakas, Kuntalas, etc.

The *Vaidarbhas* were the people dwelling in the southern country (*Vāyu Purāṇa,* Ch. 45, 126 ; Cf. *Matsyapurāṇa,* 114, 46-8 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 57, 45-8).

*Caulya* should be Cālukya. The Cālukyas claimed to be a race of Rajputs from the north, who imposed their rule upon the Dravidian inhabitants of the Deccan table-land (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India,* p. 440). Definite evidences are lacking as to their origin. The *Kirātas* were a non-Aryan mountain tribe, possessing a rude culture and dwelling in the northern region or *Uttarāpatha.* For further remarks on the location of the Kirātas or Kirrhadoi, see Lassen, *Indisches Alterthum,* Vol. III,

pp. 235-37. For further details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. LV.

The people of *Trigartta* were a Kṣatriya tribal republic depending mainly on arms. The Trigarttas as described in the *Mahābhārata* seem to have been a Punjab tribe. Epigraphic evidence (*EI.*, Vol. I, pp. 102, 116) points to the fact that modern Jullundur was the ancient Trigartta country. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57, 57) and *Matsyapurāṇas* (114, 56) reckon the Trigarttas as mountainous tribes. Cunningham identifies the Trigartta country with Kangra which is situated in Jullundur between the mountains of Camba and the upper course of the Beas (*ASR*, V, p. 148 ; *Brihat-saṃhitā*, Ch. 14 ; Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 81).

Al-Bīrūnī has made a serious mistake by locating *Aparānta* in the north. Aparānta is the western region. It may be identified with north Konkan.

The *Vāhlīka country* is placed in the north according to the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara. That the Vāhlīkas were settled beyond the Indus is definitely proved by Meharauli Pillar Inscriptions of Candra. The Vāhlīkas should be identified with the 'Baktrioi' occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy (*IA.*, 1884, p. 408 ; Ray Chaudhury, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed., p. 449 f.n.). For further details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XI.

*Gandhāra* formed an integral part of India from the earliest epoch of Indo-Aryan civilisation. It is unique among the countries of India, as its history may be traced in unbroken continuity from the Rig-vedic times down to the present day. Gandhāra was on the north-western frontiers of India. But there are differences of opinion with regard to its exact location. It is generally accepted that Gandhāra denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. According to Rhys Davids Gandhāra (modern Kandahar) was the district of eastern Afghanistan probably including the north-west Punjab (*Buddhist India*, p. 28). V. Smith concurs with this view (*Asoka*, 170). Some scholars hold that Gandhāra included the western Punjab and eastern Afghanistan. For further details about location, *vide* my *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. II. The early capital cities of Gandhāra were Puṣkalāvatī (Puṣkarāvatī) and Takṣaśilā (Taxila). For further details *vide* my *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. II.

Pargiter has identified *Carmakhaṇḍika* with Samarkand. (Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 398).

*Daśeraka* is mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa* (CXIII, 43). No definite data are available to identify it. The people of Daśeraka country took part in the great Kurukṣetra War (*Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, 1.2080 ; Droṇaparva, XI, 397).

The *Lampākas* are the peoples of the north (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, LVII. 40). The region of the Lampākas has been identified by Cunning-

ham with modern Lamghan, hundred miles to the east of Kapisene, north-east of Kabul, which practically upholds Lassen's identification of the place with Lambagae, south of the Hindukush in modern Kafiristan.

The *Yonas* or *Yavanas*, literally Ionians, were a people of Greek descent. They were important in the political history of northern and western India (*CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 225). In the *Mahābhārata* they are classed with peoples of northern India like the Kambojas, Gandhāras, Kirātas and Barbaras. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* includes them in the list of some other peoples of northern or north-western India, like the Gandhāras, Sindhu-Sauvīras and Madras (Ch. 57, 36). For details *vide* Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. XXXI.

*The Sindhus* and *Sauvīras* are usually conjoined in the *Purāṇas*, though they are mentioned separately in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Bk. II, Ch. III. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* locates them in the north (LVII, 36 ; LVIII, 30). But the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* places them in the extreme west along with the Hūṇas, Madras, etc. Al-Bīrūnī appears to identify Sauvīra with Multan and Jahrāwār (*India*, I, pp. 300 and 302), while according to the *Haimakoṣa* (IV, 26) the Sauvīra country is identical with Kuṇālaka. For further details *vide* my *Tribes in Ancient India*, Ch. LXI.

### *Mountains*

Al-Bīrūnī has given two tables in which the rivers of India and their sources and courses are enumerated (*India*, I, pp. 257 and 259). The first table has been prepared by our geographer based on the *Vāyupurāṇa*. An account of rivers and mountains of India given by Al-Bīrūnī in his book entitled *India* supplemented by modern researches will be of great value to geographers.

Al-Bīrūnī on the authority of the *Matsya-purāṇa* mentions some mountains of ancient India. As we read in this *Purāṇa* the mount Meru has seven knots, i.e., great mountains e.g., Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktivān, Ṛkṣavān, Vindhya, and Pāriyātra or Pāripātra (*India*, I, p. 247). Regarding the four sides of the mount Meru Patañjali says that on the east are the mountain Mālava and the ocean ; on the north are Nīla, Śīta, Śriṅgādri and the ocean ; on the west are the Gandhamādana and the ocean ; on the south are the Niṣadha, Hemakūṭa, Hemagiri and the ocean (*India*, I, p. 249).

The great mountains round Meru are the following:—

(1) Himavant, always covered with the snow, inhabited by the demons and ghosts (*Rākṣasas, Piśācas* and *Yakṣas*) ; (2) Hemakūṭa, the golden peak inhabited by the heavenly musicians and nymphs (*Gandharvas* and *Apsarās*) ; (3) Niṣadha inhabited by the Śnakes (*Nāgas*) ; (4) Nīla, inhabited by the perfected ones and Brahmanical sages (*Siddhas* and *Brahmarṣis*) ; (5) Śveta, inhabited by the demons (*daityas* and *dānavas*) and (6) Śriṅgavant inhabited by the departed ancestors (*Pitaras*). In the

centre of these mountains stands the Ilāvrita, the highest of all. The whole is called Puruṣaparvata. The region between the Himavant and Śriṅgavant is called the Kailāsa. Śrīparvata, Malaya, Mālyavanta, Vindhya, Trikūṭa, Tripurāntika and Kailāsa are the mountains of the middle earth according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* quoted by Al-Bīrūnī (*India*, I, pp. 247-248).

The mountain system is really the pivot of the Pauranic account of Indian rivers, for the rivers are invariably grouped in the *Purāṇas* as well as in the *Mahābhārāta* according to the mountain ranges out of which they rise. The Himavant is the only Varṣaparvata which is placed within the geographical limits of Bhāratavarsa. According to ancient geographers the name Himavanta or Himavat or Himādri is applied to the entire mountain range that stretches from the Sulaiman along the west of the Punjab and the whole of the northern boundary of India to the Assam and Arakan hill ranges in the east, including a number of peaks and smaller mountain ranges. The Himavant is said to have stretched from sea to sea like the string of a bow (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, 54, 24). This is supported by the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 6, 3) and *Kumārasambhava* (1, 1). The Himavat or the Imaos of Ptolemy is the source of the Ganges and the Indus, as well as of the Koa and the Swat rivers, which rise from the hills to the west of the present North-Western Frontier Province (Ptolemy's *Ancient India*, p. 81). Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛksa, Vindhya and Pāripātra are the seven *Kulācalas* (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57, 10), because each of these mountains was associated with one particular country or tribe (*kula*). The Mahendra mountain was situated between the Gaṅgāsāgara-saṃgama and the Saptagodāvarī. Part of the eastern ghats near Ganjam is still called the Mahendra hill. According to Pargiter the name should be limited to the hills between the Mahānadī, Godāvarī and Waingaṅgā and may perhaps comprise the portion of the eastern ghats, north of the Godāvarī (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, tr. p. 305 note). The Mahendra range seems to indicate the whole range of mountains extending from Ganjam as far south as the Pāṇḍya country to the whole of the Eastern ghat range. Opinions differ as to the Mahendra hills of the *Purāṇas* and those of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madurā was known as the Mahendra mountain. It joined the Malaya maintain.

Pargiter correctly identifies the Malaya range with the portion of the western ghats from the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin. The Sahya mountain has been correctly identified with the northern portion of the western ghats. It seems to extend from the river Tapti down to the Nilgiris. There are some minor hills associated with the Sahya, *i.e.*, Vaidūrya, Trikūṭa from which the Traikūṭakas derive their name (For details Law, *Mountains of India*, pp. 20-21). The Śuktimat range has been identified with the Sulaiman range. Pargiter identifies it with Gāro, Khasi and Tippera hills (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, tr. pp. 285, 306, notes). Cunningham identifies it with the hills, south of Sehoa and Kanker separating

Chattisgarh from Bastar (*A.S.R.*, XVII, 24, 26). This range has also been placed by some in the north of the Hazaribagh district, while others have located it in Western India (*A.S.R.*, VIII, 124-5 ; *Epic India*, p. 276). The Ṛkṣa and the Vindhya are Ouxenton and Ouindion of Ptolemy. The Ṛksa, the Vindhya and the Pāripātra are the parts of the whole range of mountains, now known by the common name of Vindhya. Ptolemy describes the Ṛkṣa as the source of the Toundis, the Dosaran, and the Adamas and the Ouindion as that of the Namados and the Nanagouna. The Dosaran has been identified with the Daśārṇā of the Purāṇas and the Namados and the Nanagouna with the Narmadā and the Tāptī respectively. By the Ṛkṣa Ptolemy meant the central region of the modern Vindhya range, north of the Narmadā, while the Ouindion stands for only that portion of the Vindhya from which rise the Narmadā and the Tāptī. The Pāripātra is the southern limit of Āryāvarta (Baudhāyana's *Dharmasūtra*, I, I, 25). It is the farthest limit of Kumārīkhaṇḍa, the centre of Bhāratavarṣa according to the *Skandapurāṇa*. It may be identified with that portion of the modern Vindhya range which is situated west of Bhopal together with the Aravalli mountains. There are some minor mountains associated with the Pāripātra or Pāriyātra (Law, *Mountains of India*, pp. 17-18).

The Kailāsa range is also known as the *Bhūteśagiri* surrounded by the river Nandā also called the Gaṅgā (*Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 5, 22 ; V, 16, 27). It includes the Kumāyun and Garwal mountains (*Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chs. 144, 156). It is also called the Hemakūṭa according to the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣmaparva*, Ch. 6). It is known to the Jainas by the name of the Aṣṭāpada mountain. It runs parallel to the Ladakh range, 50 miles behind the latter. It contains a number of groups of giant peaks. It may be identified with the Vaidyutaparvata. It is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānasasarovara. Badarikāśrama is said to be situated on this mountain (Law, *Mountains of India*, p. 7 ; Law, *Geographical Essays*, 83 ; Law, *Geographical Aspect of Kālidāsa's Works*, p. 39 ; Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 87-88).

The Gandhamādana mountain forms a part of the Rudra-Himalaya and according to the epic writers, a part of the Kailāsa range. It is said to have been watered by the Mandākinī. Bāṇa describes it as one of the summits of the Himalaya (Kādambarī, ed. Kale, p. 94). According to the *Harivaṃśa* (Ch. XXVI. 5-7), King Pururava lived with Ūrvaśī for 10 years at the foot of this mountain. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IV. 1.58) mentions it as a mountain upon which Brahmā descended. There was a cave in this mountain known as the Nandamūla (*Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 68). This rocky mountain was visited by king Vessantara with his wife and children (*Jātaka*, VI, p. 519). This mountain was visited by the Buddha, and Aśoka's tree was brought from this mountain by the keeper of a hermitage and was planted at the place where the Buddha showed the

miracles (*Avadānakalpalatā*, 5th Pallava; *Divyāvadāna*, 157). The Śvetaparvata is in the Himalayas to the east of Tibet (*Saṃyutta*, I, 67). According to Al-Bīrūnī Meru and Niṣadha or Niṣada described as *Varṣaparvatas* in the *Purāṇas*, were connected with the Himalayan chain. Near the mountain Niṣadha there existed the pond called Viṣṇupada, whence came the river Sarasvatī. In the Kailāsa mountain there was a pond called Manda whence came the river Mandākinī (*India*, II, p. 142).

## *Rivers*

According to Al-Bīrūnī the rivers of India come either from the cold mountains in the north or from the eastern mountains. Really speaking both form one and the same chain, extending towards the east and then turning towards the south, until they reach the great ocean (*India* I, p. 258). He gives a list of some of the rivers of India (*Ibid.*, I, p, 259). An attempt has been made here to deal with them as briefly as possible. The Sindhu or the Indus is a Trans-Himalayan river. It is fed by a number of glaciers. There are several deltaic rivers that are but different affluents of the Indus in its lower course through the province of Sind. Al-Bīrūnī (*India*, I, p. 260) points out that only her upper course (*Barīdīsh*) above the junction with the Chenab or Candrabhāgā was known as Sindhu; lower that point to Aror she was known as Pañcanād, while from Aror to where she enters the sea, it was known as Mihran. In the Behistun inscription of Darius this river is referred to as Hindu and in Zoroastrian *Vendidad* as Hendu. The river Indus gave her name to the country through which she flowed (See *JASB.*, 1886, II, p. 323).

The greatest known river of northern India, known to the Chinese as Sintu, is the river Indus, after which the Indus group is named. The Indus after passing Attock flows almost due south parallel to the Sulaiman hills. The *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (VII, 4, 13, 1) uses the term *Saindhava* which may apply to the Sindhu or the Indus. This river is known to Pāṇini and Patañjali (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4, 3, 32-33; *Mahābhāṣya*, 1, 3, 1, pp. 588-589). *Kālidāsa* in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* (ed. Ayyar, p. 148) refers to the fight of Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, with the Yavanas on the right bank of this river.

The Sindhu was also known by the names of Sambheda and Samgama. The Sindhu group as known to Pliny was constituted of the Indus and 19 other rivers. The main tributaries of this river are said to be the Hydraotes, the Akesines, the Hypasis, the Hydaspes, the Kophen, the Parenos, the Saparnos, and the Saonas (*vide* Law, *Rivers of India*, pp. 6-12).

The Sarasvatī and the Driṣadvatī are the two historical rivers of Northern India that flow down independently without belonging to the Indus group. Manu locates the region of Brahmāvarta between these two sacred streams. The Sarasvatī is described as a Himalayan river. It

flows southwards through the Simla and Sirmur states forming a bulge. Manu applies the name of Vinaśana to the place where it disappears from view (Cf. *Mahābhārata,* 82.3 ; *Padmapurāṇa,* Ch. 21). The *Padmapurāṇa* (Sriṣṭikhaṇḍ, Ch. 32, V. 105) refers to the Gangodbhedatīrtha which is the meeting place of this river with the Ganges. The *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* (XII. 3.20), *Lāṭyāyanaśrautasūtra* (X. 15, 1) *Aśvalāyanaśrautasūtra* (XII, 6, 2.3) and *Sāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra* (XIII. 29) refer to the sacrifices held on the bank of this river as of great importance and sanctity. The Sarasvatī is correctly described as a river which is visible in one place and invisible in another. The river which still survives, flows between the Śatadru and the Yamunā. It was known to the Vedic Aryans as a mighty river which flowed into the sea (Max Muller, *Rigveda-saṃhitā,* p. 46). This river issued from the Himalayas. It rises in the Sirmur hills in the Himalayan range called the Sewalik and emerges into the plains at Ad-Badri in Ambala. People make offerings to their ancestors on the bank of this sacred river (*Mahābhārata,* 83, 151 ; 84, 66). There existed on its bank a forest sacred to Ambikā known as the Ambikāvana (*Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* X. 34. 1-18).

The river Driṣadvatī has been identified with the modern Chitrang which runs parallel to the Sarasvatī (Rapson, *Ancient India,* p. 51; *Imperial Gazetteers of India,* p. 26). Some have identified it with the Ghagar, flowing through Ambala and Sindh, but now lost in the desert sands of Rajputana (*JASB.,* VI, 181), while Cunningham found in it the river Rākshi that flows by the south-east of Thāneswar (*ASR,* XIV). This river has also been identified with the modern Chitang or Chitrung (*JRAS.,* 25, 28). The confluence of the Driṣadvatī and the Kauśikī was of peculiar sanctity. The *Vāmanapurāṇa* (Ch. 34) takes the Kauśikī to be a branch of Driṣadvatī.

The river Gomatī is almost certainly identical with the Rigvedic Gomatī (*Rigveda,* X, 75, 6), which is probably the modern Gomal, a western tributary of the Indus. It has also been sought to be identified with the modern Gumti which joins the Ganges below Benares and which is described in the *Rāmayāṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 49) as situated in Ayodhyā. It rises in the Shahjahanpur district and flows into the Ganges, about half-way between Benares and Ghazipur (*IA.,* Vol. XXII, 1893, p. 178).

The river Dhutapāpā has been sought to be identified with the modern Dhopap on the Gumtī, eighteen miles south-east of Sultanpur in Oudh.

The river Devikā is said to have issued from the Himalayas. It has been identified by Pargiter with the river Deeg, a tributary of the river Rāvī (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* p. 292, note). According to the *Agnipurāṇa* (Ch. 200) it flowed through the Sauvīra country and had its source in the Maināka hills in the Sewalik range (*Kālikāpurāṇa,* Ch. 23, 137-138). It has also been identified with the river Devā or Devikā in U.P. which is another name for the southern course of the Sarayū. According to the

*Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 23) it flowed between the Gomatī and the Sarayū and was distinct from them. The river Gaṇḍakī is also called the Cakranadī according to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (X. 79, 11). It is a great upper tributary of the Ganges which has its origin in the hills in South Tibet. In passing through Nepal it receives four tributaries on the left and two on the right. The upper tributary of this river which is the modern Gandak on its right side, joins it at a place to the north-west of Nāyākot in Nepal, and the lower tributary called the Rāptī joins it just above the district of Champaran. Its main stream flows into the Ganges between Sonapur in the Sara district and Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur, while its lesser stream bifurcating at Basarh, flows down into another river.

The Kuhu or the Kubhā which is a Vedic river is the most important among the western tributaries of the Indus (*Rigveda*, X, 75, 6). It formed the western boundary of India proper according to some classical geographers. It is the modern Kabul river, the Kophes of Arrian and the Kophen of Pliny. It is apparently the same river as the Kuhu of the *Purāṇas* and it may be identical with Koa of Ptolemy which is described to have its source in the Imaos or the Himalaya (Ptolemy, *Ancient India*, pp. 86-87). The Kubhā cuts a valley through the Sulaiman range. It flows into the Indus a little above Attock (Skt. Hāṭaka) and it receives at Prang a joint flow of its two tributaries called the Svāt (Soastos of Arrian, Skt. Suvāstu) and Gaurī (Garroia of Arrian) identified with the modern Panjkora, a tributary of the Svāt.

The river Biyāh flows east of Multan and joins afterwards the Biyatta or Jailam or Jhelum and the Candarāha according to Al-Bīrūnī. (*India*, I, p. 260).

The river Pārā or Parā has been identified by Cunningham with the Pārvatī that rises in Bhopal and falls into the Chambal (*ASR*. II, 308). The river Vidiśā must be connected with the Vidiśā country which is modern Bhilsa in Central India.

The river Śiprā has been immortalized by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* (I, 31, 32) as the historical river on which stood the ancient city of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain).[1] It is a local river of the Gwalior state which flows into the Chambal, a little below Sitaman. This is fed by two tributaries.

The river Śatadru is the modern Sutlej (Shatladar according to

[1] Al-Bīrūnī gives the latitude of Uzain (Ujjain) in Malwa as 24° which according to Brahmagupta is 16¼°. To the Hindus it represented 0° longitude. cf. Nafis Ahmed on Al-Bīrūnī's geography of India, *Calcutta Geographical Review*, V. Dec. 1943, p. 155. Al-Bīrūnī refers to a common mistake among the Muslim astronomers & geographers to give Ujjain a sea-coast position. He says that really it was 100 yojanas distant from the sea.

Al-Bīrūnī—*India,* I, p. 260), a tributary of the Ganges. It is the most easterly river of the Punjab according to the *Rigveda* (III. 33, 1). In Arrian's time this river flowed independently into the gulf of Cutch (*Imperial Gazetteers of India,* 23, 179). The Śatadru is the Zaradros of Ptolemy and the Hesydrus of Pliny. It is a trans-Himalayan river, as its basin lies mainly north of the Himalaya. The source of this river is traceable to the western region of the western lake of the Mānasa-sarovara. From this region it has a westerly course, until it turns a little towards south-west above mount Kamet. In ancient times it took an independent course to the confines of the Indus (Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa,* p. 291, notes). The united streams of the Sutlej and the Beas are known as the Ghaggar.

The Niścīrā is also known as the Nirvīrā, Niśritā, Nicitā and Nīvārā. It was probably connected with the Kauśikī. Some have identified it with the Līlājan which joins the Mohanā near Gayā (*Agnipurāṇa,* 116; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* 57; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary,* p. 141).

The Carmaṇvatī or the modern Chambal takes its rise in the Aravalli range north-west of Indore and flows north-east through eastern Rajputana into the Yamunā. It is the tributary of the Jumna.

The Candrabhāgā or the Candrāha of Al-Bīrūnī issues forth from the Himalayan region. It is the modern Chenab which appears to flow just above Kishtwar as a confluence of two hill-streams. From Kishtwar to Rishtwar its course is southerly. It flows past Jammu, wherefrom it flows in a south-westerly direction, forming a doab between it and the Jhelum. It is the same river as the Rigvedic Asiknī, Arrian's Akesines, and Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy. There are two rivers of this name according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.* The *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣmaparva,* 9.322-327) seems to support the same contention, but it is difficult to identify the second stream.

The Parṇāśā is also known as the Varṇāśā which is no other than the modern Banāśī (*Vāyupuraṇa,* XLV, 97; XLVII, 29). It is a river of western India.

The Jailām or the Jhelum is called the Vitastā or Vitaṃsā. It is identical with Greek Bidaspes or Hydaspes. It was known to the Rigvedic Aryans by the name of Vitaṃsā (X. 75). The Buddhists knew it under the name of Vitaṃsā (*Milandapañha,* p. 114). According to Al-Bīrūnī this river rises in the mountain called Haramakot wherefrom also the Ganges rises (*India,* I, 207).

*Irāvatī*—It is the modern Rāvī, the Greek Hydraotis or Adris or Rhanadis. This river rises in the rock-basin of Bāṅgāhal and drains the southern slopes of the Pir Pañjal and the northern slopes of the Dhaulā Dhar. This river has its origin in the Irā lake according to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 24, 140). It appears first to our view at the soūth-west corner of Chamba in Kashmere. From Chamba it flows past Lahore, following a south-westerly course and meets the Chenab or the united flow of the Vitastā

and Candrabhāgā between Ahmadpur and Saraisidhu (Law, *Rivers of India,* p. 13). This river was also known to Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya,* 2.1.2, p. 53).

The Karatoyā has its origin above Domar in the district of Rangpur. It bifurcates after it enters the district of Pabna to flow into the Yamunā in two streams below Serajganj and at Berā, both in the district of Pabna. The confluence of the Karatoyā and Atrāī (Ātreyī) is connected with the Ganges by a stream which issues from the Ganges, west of Pabna. This river is an important tributary of the Yamunā. It once formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Bengal and Kāmarūpa (*Mahābhārata* Vanaparva, Ch. 85).

The Kauśikī is the modern river Kuśī which flows into the Ganges through the district of Purnea in Behar (*Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa,* 34). It is mentioned n the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ādikāṇḍa,* V. 8) as a great river, issuing from the Himalaya. It seems to have largely shifted its course (Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* Tr. p. 292, note). It appears to view under this name in the southern part of eastern Nepal as the united flow of four rivers. This river also known as Kośī is probably the river Cos-Soanos mentioned by Arrian in his *Indika* (Ch. IV) on the authority of Megasthenes as being one of the navigable tributaries of the Ganges. It is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, the dangerous and uncertain nature of its bed and chiefly for its constant westerly movement (Hunter *Statistical Account of Bengal,* Purnea, 1877). For further details vide Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India,* p. 91.

The Sarayū or Sarabhū is the river which issued forth from the Himalaya (*Milindapañha,* p. 114). King Daśaratha performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice on its bank (*Rāmāyaṇa,* Ādikāṇḍa, 14 Sarga, vs. 1-2). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa visited the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges (*Rāmāyaṇa,* Ādikāṇḍa, 23rd Sarga, v. 5). It was the Ghagrā or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges, on which stood the ancient city of Ayodhyā. It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy. It joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra, Behar. At the north-west corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north-east which goes by the name of the Sarayū. This river is situated at a distance of half a yojana from the city of Ayodhyā (*Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa,* Sarga 123, v. 1).

Pargiter identifies the river Bāhudā with the modern Rāmagaṅgā which joins the Ganges on the left near Kanauj (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* Tr., pp. 291-92). Some have identified it with the Dhavalā, now called the Dhumela or Burha Rāpti, a feeder of the Rāpti in Oudh (Dey, *Geographical Dictionary,* p. 16). In the Buddhist texts the river Bāhukā occurs which is no other than Bāhudā (*Majjhima,* I, 39). According to the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva, 22) the sage Likhita had his severed arm restored by bathing in this river which was accordingly named Bāhudā.

The river Vipāśā is the Beas identical with the Bipasis or Hypasis or Hyphasis of the Greeks, which is a tributary of the Sutlej. In ancient

times it was probably an independent river. Vaiśiṣṭha broken in heart owing to the death of his sons at the hands of Viśvāmitra, wanted to commit suicide. He therefore threw himself into this river by tying himself hand and foot but the strong current of this river unfastened him and saved him by throwing him on its bank.

The Lohita or Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra flows in a south-westerly direction from Sadiyā down to the place above the Garo hills with a slight deflection here and there, to turn and flow south again to meet the Ganges at a little above the Goalundo Ghat. It is one of the principal rivers of Assam. Its origin is really traceable to the eastern region of the Mānasa-sarovara. For further details *vide* Law, *Rivers of India*, pp. 29-30.

The Gaṅgā is also called the Alakanandā, Dyudhunī or Dyunadī (*Rigveda*, X. 75.5 ; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 11). It is also known as the Bhāgīrathī and Jāhṇavī (*Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 36 ; VIII, 95 ; X, 26, 69). The Varaṇāvatī which is found in the *Atharvaveda* (IV, 7, 1) seems to be the Ganges according to Ludwig (*Rigveda* tr., 3, 210; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 20). This river is said to have issued from the foot of Nārāyaṇa and followed her course on the mount Meru ; then she bifurcated herself in four streams flowing north, south, east, and west (*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 56, 1-12). It is described as the *Tripathagāminī* i.e., having three courses. According to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (p. 75) this river while being brought down by Bhagīratha, happened to wash off the altar of Jahṇu who was performing a sacrifice. The confluence of the Ganges and the Sindhu is considered to be a holy spot (*Padmap*. Ch. 4. V. 107). Some useful information is supplied by Arrian regarding the Ganges and its tributaries (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 190-91). The great epic traces the source of this river to Bindusāra, while the Buddhist texts, to the southern face of the Anotatta lake. The Bhāgīrathīgaṅgā comes to light in the Gaṅgotri in the district of Garhwal. From Hardwar down to Bulandshahar the Ganges has a southerly course after which she flows in a south-easterly direction up to Allahabad where she is joined by the Jumna. From Hardwar to Allahabad she flows almost parallel to the Jumna. From Allahabad down to Rajmahal she has an easterly course. She enters Bengal below Rajmahal. The united stream of the Ganges and the Jumna falls into the great ocean near the Gaṅgāsāgara. Between the mouths of the rivers Sarasvatī (Sarsatī) and the Ganges, the mouth of the river Narmadā exists. (Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, I. p. 261). For further details Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 77-78.

The Yamunā takes its rise from the Kalindagiri and therefore it is known as Kalindakanyā (*Raghuv*. VI, 48). The territory of the Tritsus lay between the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī on the east and the west respectively. The Bharatas are famed as victorious on the Yamunā (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 23 ; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5, 4, 11). This river is also known as the Kālindī (*Bhāgavatap*, III, 4, 36 ; IV, 8, 43 ; Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, p. 62, according to which it is so called because

it appears to be dark). It rises on the slopes of Bandarpunch, a peak situated on the watershed between the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. The first and great western tributary of the Ganges is the Yamunā proper (Modern Jumna), which takes its rise in the Himalayan range below mount Kamet. It cuts a valley through the Siwalik range and Garhwal before it enters the plains of northern India to flow south parallel to the Ganges ; from Mathurā downwards it follows a south-eastern course till it meets the Ganges forming the famous confluence at Prayāga or Allahabad. In the district of Dehra Dun it receives two tributaries on the west side, the upper one being known as Northern Tons. Between Agra and Allahabad it is joined on the left side by four tributaries called the Carmaṇvatī (modern Chambal), Kālisindh, Vetravatī (modern Betwa), Ken and Payaṣṇī (modern Paisuni). According to Al-Bīrūnī the river Yamunā (Jaun) joins the Ganges below Kanoj which lies west of it. (*India*, I, p. 261). Many holy places are situated on this river. The Yamunā is known to the Chinese as Yen-mok-na. It served as the boundary between Śūrasena and Kośala, and further down between Kośala and Vaṃśa ; Madura, the capital of Śūrasena, and Kosambī, the capital of the Vatsas, standing on its right bank. The Yamunotrī which is eight miles from Kursoli is considered to be the source of the Jumna. It is identical with the Greek Erannaboas (Hiraṇyavāha or Hiraṇyavāhu). The Vāluvāhinī is mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* as a tributary of the Jumna. Mahācīn (Mahācīna) or great China stands behind the Jailam (Jhelum) and the Ganges (Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, I, p. 207).

The river Ghorvand which rises from the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kabul (Kāyabish) is joined by several affluents: (1) the river of the Ghūzak pass ; (2) the river of the Panchīr Gorge ; (3) the rivers Sharvat and Sāwa which join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Drūta ; (4) Nūr and Kīrā rivers. Swelled by these affluents the Ghorvand is a great river opposite the town of Purshāvar (Peshawar). It falls into the river Sindh (Indus) near the castle of Bītūr below the capital of Alkandahār (Gandhāra, *India*, I, p. 259). The river Sīta rises in the Himalaya and flows through some countries and then it falls into the western ocean. The river Cakṣu irrigates some countries ; e.g., Cīna, Barbara, and Palhava, etc. (*India*, I, p. 261). For further details *vide* Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 135-136.

# QĀ'IM MAQĀM—HIS LIFE AND WORKS

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MĪRZĀ Abu'l—Qāsim Qā'im Maqām,[1] poetically surnamed Ṣanā'ī, son of Mīrzā 'Īsā better known as Mīrzā Buzurg of Farāhān, was born in 1193 A.H./1779 A.D., and was educated and brought up under the able guidance of his father and grandfather.[2] He was a precocious boy and showed a remarkable talent in learning grammar, rhetoric, prosody, logic, philosophy, gnosticism, metaphysics, lexicology, caligraphy and essay writing ; and in the later part of his life he proved himself as one of the greatest prose writers, and according to Maliku'sh-Shu'arā *Bahār* he adopted the style of the *Gulistān* but with special grace and beauty of his own,[3] and in Prof. Brown's words he was "one of the finest prose stylists of modern times."[4]

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[1] One of his descendants, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb al-Ḥusainī al-Farāhānī al-Qā'im Maqāmī claims that the Qā'im Maqām's lineage in his last 37th generation goes up to Ḥazrat 'Alī as follows:—

(1) The Qā'im Maqām b. (2) Mīrzā 'Īsā b. (3) Mīrzā Ḥasan b. (4) Mīrzā 'Īsā b. (5) Mīr Abu'l-Fatḥ b. (6) Mīr Abu'l-Fakhr b. (7) Mīr Abu'l-Khair b. (8) Sayyid Raẓā b. (9) Sayyid Rūḥullāh b. (10) Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn b. (11) Sayyid Bāyazīd b. (12) Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn b. (13) Sayyid Bābā b. (14) Sayyid Ḥasan b. (15) Sayyid Ḥūsain b. (16) Sayyid Maḥmūd b. (17) Sayyid Najmu'd Dīn b. (18) Sayyid Majdu'd-Dīn b. (19) Sayyid Fatḥu'llāh b. (20) Sayyid Rūḥu'llāh b. (21) Sayyid Hibtu'llāh b. (22) Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh b. (23) Sayyid Samad b. (24) Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Majīd b. (25) Sayyid Sharafu'd-Dīn b. (26) Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ b. (27) Sayyid Mīr 'Alī b. (28) Sayyid 'Alī b. (29) Sayyid Mīr 'Alī b. (30) Sulṭān Sayyid Aḥmad b. (31) Sayyid Muḥammad b. (32) Sayyid Ḥasan b. (33) Sayyid Ḥusain b. (34) Sayyid Ḥasan al-Afṭas (Flat-nosed) b. (35) 'Alī Aṣghar b. (36) Zainu'l-'Ābidīn 'Alī b. (37) Abī 'Abdu'llāh al-Ḥusain b. (38) 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

It may also be pointed out that Sulṭān Sayyid Aḥmad was the first man of this line who came from Medina to Iran and settled in Hazāva (Farāhān) where his mausoleum still stands and is considered a holy place.

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan son of Mīrzā 'Īsā had two brothers—Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain and Mīrzā 'Alī. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan was for several years in the service of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain (his elder brother) whose death took place in about 1180 A.H./1766 A.D. Both the brothers, Ḥusain and Ḥasan, lived in Shīrāz but after the downfall of the Zand rule they were obliged by the Qāchār king to come down to Tehrān. Raẓā-Qulī *Hidāyit* in his well-known work Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā Vol. II has wrongly mentioned Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain as the father of Mīrzā Buzurg. As Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain had no male issue he adopted his nephew Mīrzā Buzurg as his son and bestowed all his affection upon him and used to call him "FARZAND-I-MAN" (my son). It was for this reason that some historians have mistook him as the son of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusain.

[3] *Sabk Shināsī* (Criticism on style) Vol. III. page 350. Tehrān Edition.

[4] Literary History of Persia, Vol. IV. page 147.

Mīrzā 'Īsā (Mīrzā Buzurg), the father of the Qā'im Maqām, was the first man who was honoured with the title of Qā'im Maqām which literally means lieutenant or deputy. Although Mīrzā Shafī Shīrāzī was holding the office of premier, the state affairs were directly administered by Mīrzā 'Īsā who died in 1238 A.H./1822 A.D. at Tabriz and was buried in the cemetry of Ḥaẓrat Ḥamza.[1]

Mīrzā 'Īsā was a pious man, profound in learning and skilled in oratory. He had four sons and one daughter namely—Mīrzā Ḥasan Vazīr, Mīrzā Ma'ṣūm, Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim Qā'im Maqām, Ḥajji-Mīrzā Khan and Ḥājjiāh Khānum. Ḥājjiah Khānum was married to prince Malik Qāsim Mīrzā, son of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Qāchār, but she never led a happy life with her husband and died without leaving any issue behind.

Mīrzā 'Īsā held in the government a high rank which he had inherited. His ancestors had always held responsible positions in the courts of the Mongols down to those of the Qāchārs ; and during the reign of Ṣafavid kings his forefathers were called as Mīr Muhrdārs[2] (Keepers of the Royal Seals) for keeping the royal seals at the court of Ṣafavid kings.

After completing his educational career, the Qā'im Maqām made his way to the court of prince 'Abbās Mīrzā on account of his father being a minister of the prince. Thus the Qā'im Maqām got an opportunity to come into close contact with the prince who on account of his great brilliance kept him in his service and took him to several campaigns ; and after the retirement of his father, the Qā'im Maqām held the position of lieutenant of the prince who left the management of his affairs in Qā'im Maqām's hand. The Qā'im Maqām made untiring efforts in concluding a treaty of friendship with Russia and came out successful in obtaining the Russian support for 'Abbās Mīrzā and his family whose future hopes for the Persian throne were at stake due to the rivalry of other princes. But unfortunately 'Abbās Mīrzā who knew the services of the Qā'im Maqām, died in Khurāsān and his son Muḥammad Mīrzā was never in direct touch with the Qā'im Maqām, but even then he extended his full support to the prince in his effort to occupy the throne. The Qā'im Maqām then in 1250 A.H./1834 A.D. was appointed as prime minister of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (Md. Mīrzā) soon after his accession. The Qā'im Maqām was successful in launching a number of reforms in the country, but his brilliant political carrer very soon aroused the jealousy of some of the courtiers. Consequently, in the month of Ṣafer 1251 A.H. / June 26, 1835 A.D., he was strangled[3] in the Nigāristān Garden

[1] Hazrat Ḥamzā was the son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and grandson of Imām Ja'far as-Ṣādiq (died in A.H. 148) who nominated his eldest son Ismā'īl as his successor but this succession could not last long on account of his death and thus the nomination went over to Mūsā al-Kāẓim inspite of the claim of succession made by the followers of Ismā'īl for his son Ḥabīb.

[2] Introduction to the Dīvān of Mīrzā Ṣādiq Khān *Amīrī* Adību'l-Mamālik Qā'im, Maqāmī, Tehrān edition A.H. 1312 (solar).

[3] It is interesting to note that Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, before ascending the throne, had taken oath not to shed the blood of the Qā'im Maqām and it was for this reason that no edged weapon was used to kill him.

situated at one mile from Tehrān. His far-reaching reforms made him so popular among the people that the Shah felt his own position insecure. It was through foreign intrigues, the machinations and rivalry of selfish nobles of the court that the Shāh resolved to put an end to his life, and the news of this sad tragedy was kept secret for forty days,[1] and thereafter his dead body was carried to and buried in the vicinity of Ḥazarat 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm[2] at Rey—near Tehrān.[3]

The grave of the Qā'im Maqām till 1287 A.H./1881 A.D. was not known to anybody, but in that year Mīrzā 'Alī Qā'im Maqām III obtained permission from Nāṣir-uddin Shāh Qāchār and discovered his father's tomb with the assistance of Āqā Buzurg, the Mutawallī of Ḥazrat 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm; and the tomb is now open to all.

The date of the Qā'im Maqām's death is derived from the last line of a long elegic qaṣida engraved on his tomb. The line runs thus:—

طبع کوثر زای گفت و کلک طوبی فر نوشت - صدر مینو دیده قدر از مقدم قایم مقام
(۱۲۵۱)

The Qāim Maqām left five wives, three sons, and four daughters behind. His first wife was the sister of prince 'Abbās Mīrzā, but she was childless. His second wife was the sister of Mīrzā Ḥasan Mustawfi'l-Mamālik Āshtiyānī. She had two daughters. The third wife of the Qā'im Maqām was the daughter of a reputed family from Georgia. She had two sons namely Mīrzā Muḥammad Vazīr and Mīrzā 'Alī, the latter being the grandfather of 'Abul Wahhāb al-Ḥusaini al-Farāhānī al-Qā'im Maqāmī. His fourth wife was the daughter of a new convert to Islām. She had one son whose name was Mīrzā Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān. The last and fifth wife of the Qā'īm Maqām was the daughter of an unknown person. She had two daughters.

During the reign of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh the crown-prince 'Abbās Mīrzā was the Grand Vazīr of Persia and the governorship of Āzerbāijān then was in the hand of his son Mīrzā Moḥammad, but "the real authority over that province," according to Watson, "lay at this time in the hand of Mīrzā

[1] Introduction to the Divān of Mīrzā Ṣādiq Khan *Amiri* Adibul Mamālik Farāhāni Qāim Maqāmī, Tehran Edition, 1312 (solar).

[2] His full name was Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm son of 'Abdullāh al-Ḥusaini. On account of apprehending danger from the Abbasid Caliph Mu'tazz bi'llāh, he first migrated from Madinā to Samarra and therefrom to Iran in about A.H. 250 and settled in Rayy in the Maḥallā-i-*Sārbānān* where he lived until he died in A.H. 252, being poisoned by the agents of the Caliph. Various reasons regarding his migration have been made by the historians like Ṣāḥib son of 'Abbād, 'Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad son of Ali Najāshī and others, but the most popular view about his migration is he felt his life in danger from the Caliph whose religious bigotry was a source of pre-petual menace to others. (Life of Hazrat 'Abdul-'Aẓim bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Ḥusainī, by Muḥammad Rāzī, Tehran edition A.H. 1367.)

[3] According to Malekush-Sho'rā Bahār, the dead body of the Qā'im Maqām in the night he was killed was transferred to Ḥazrat 'Abdu'l-Aẓīm and was buried at once. Vide *Sabk-Shināsī* (Criticism on style) Vol. iii, page 350.

Abdul Kassim, the Kaim Makam"[1] whose father Mirza Buzurg had at first in 1219 A.H./1804 A.D. been appointed to this important post, and had afterwards in 1226 A.H./1811 A.D. been replaced by his worthy son, the Qā'im Maqām. I'tamādud-Dawlah Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Mokaddam in his work Muntaẓimi-Nāṣerī says that the Qāim Maqām had become self-conceited and vain after his remarkable success in reforming the administration of the country. He is also of opinion that after these achievements the Qā'im Maqām began to interfere in the affairs of the Shāh. Watson condemned his behaviour and manner, and is of opinion that the Qā'im Maqām possessed the power of deceiving others and thus his falseness was known to everybody, and moreover he never trusted anyone regarding important affairs of the state. The result was that the system of government was unsatisfactory and in the worst condition, and the people of Azerbāijān being dissatisfied resented his policy.[2] On the contrary the writings of persons like Grebaiodov (killed on February 11, 1829, at Tehran. He was Russian envoy in Iran), Rezā Quli Hedāyet, Muḥhammad Ḥusain Khān 'Andalīb, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Marvazi, Mīrzā Taqi 'Alīābādi Ṣāhib, Mīrzā Ḥabibullāh Shirāzi Qāāni, Mulla Mihr 'Ali Adib-i-Tabrīzī, Mīrzā Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Qā'im Maqāmī and Vaḥid-i-Dastagardi reveal that the Qā'im Maqām was a farsighted politician with all sincerity of purpose. He was a man of character and ability, and was straightforward in his manner and a symbol of patriotism.

The late editor of the monthly *'Armaghān'*, Vaḥīd-i-Dastagardi has paid a glaring tribute to the Qā'im Maqām for his outstanding political and literary achievements. In his opinion the Qā'īm Maqām's political ability was no less than that of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and Shamsu'd-Din ṣahīb-i-Dīvān. His poetic genius in Arabic and Persian, according to Vaḥīd, can be compared with that of *Mutanabbī* and *Anwarī,* while in prose his standard was never less than that of Ibn 'Abbād and Qābūs.[3] While mentioning his services to Persian literature in Irān, the Qā'im Maqām has been compared to Shakespeare in England, Rousseau in France, Goethe in Germany, and Tolstoy in Russia.[4] And so far as his political genius is concerned, it is enough to say that it was the Qāim Maqām's statemanship[5] which gave an

[1] History of Persia (1800-1858), page 271.

[2] History of Persia (1800-1858), page 272.

[3] His full name was Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs bin Washmgīr who was the ruler of Jarjān and Ṭabaristān. He was well-versed in both Arabic and Persian, prose and poetry, and was considered one of the greatest prose-writers of his time. He died in A.H. 403.

[4] Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām, page 31.

[5] "This nobleman", Watson is of opinion, "stood unrivalled for talent in the estimation of his countrymen. He was an able financier, and was well acquainted with the condition of every province in the kingdom, and was moreover versed in the relations between Persia and the foreign states." Vide page 271, History of Persia (1800-1858).

impetus to the development of army and administration of the country in a European manner.

After the Qā'im Maqām's death, Muḥammad Shāh made strenuous efforts to lessen his importance, political as well as social, and he did not hesitate to destroy even his literary works, both in prose and poetry ; and it is understood that he was successful in destroying more than three thousand of his verses.[1] But the Dīvān of the Qā'im Maqām comprising about three thousand verses was published by Vaḥīd-i-Dastagardī and that is enough to preserve the Qā'im Maqām's position in the field of poetry.

The renaissance of poetry in Iran took place according to Persian scholars a little earlier than that of prose ; and it is interesting to note in this connection that during the reign of Karim Khān Zand a number of poets resolved to change the Indian style, then current in Persia, into the Irāqi ; and similarly in the period of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh endeavours were made to change the 'Irāqi style into the Khurāsānī. In this connection the Qā'im Maqām is also worth mentioning on account of being one of the forerunners who played an important rôle in the revival of Persian poetry. He wrote poems in simple Khurāsānī style according to the trend of modern poetry. The specimen of his verses is given as below[2]:—

گر در دو جهان کام دل و راحت جا نست * من وصل تو جویم که به از هر دو جهانست
فلسی نخرم عشوهٔ اینجا که پدیدست * باور نکنم وعده آنجا که نهانست
گویند که آن بارگه عز و نشاط است * نامند که این کارگه ذل و هوانست
اینجا که پدیدست بدیدیم چنین است * آنجا که نهانست چه دانیم چسانست
من کوی تو جویم که بر از عرش برین است * من روی تو بینم که به از باغ جنانست
صیدم کند آن آهوی مشکین که شب و روز * در گلشن روی تو چمانست و چرانست
از زلف چو زنجیر تو در بندم و ورنه * درهم گسلم گرچه دو صد بند گرانست
این طایر قدس ار نه بدامت بودش انس * بالله که ز هر جا که جهانست جهانست
در دایرهٔ کون و مکان نیست وگر هست * در دام تو واش کون و ببام تو مکانست
تا با سر زلفین تو داریم سروکار * مارا چه سروکار بکار دو جهانست
از صوفی و قشری چه نشانست و چه نامست * بی پا و سری را که نه نام و نه نشانست
با کشمکش کافر و مؤمن چه رجوع است * بیدین و دلیرا که نه اینست و نه آنست
در کیش من ایمانی اگر هست بعالم * در کفر سر زلف چو زنجیر بتانست
گر واعظ مسجد بجز این گوید مشنو * آن احمق بیچاره چه داند حیوانست
زان سبحهٔ و سجاده مشو غره که زاهد * گرگ ست و بخواهد که بگویند شبانست
نو بر سر این کوچه بیا هرکه خرد زهد * کان زهدفروش اینجا بگشاده دکانست
در رستهٔ ما رسم غریبیست کیه ایمان * ارزان بفروش آید و انصاف گرانست
گر زهد و ورع این بود امروز که اوراست * حق بر طرف مغبچهٔ و دیر مغانست

[1] Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām, Tehran edition, pp. 3-4.
[2] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

This Dīvān of the Qā'im Maqām contains his well-known Maṣnavī poem the Jalāyar-nāmah of about one thousand verses written in the name of his faithful servant called Jalāyir.[1] This Maṣnavī poem is a sort of polite, refined and well-mannered satire in a simple and colloquial style[2] with the purpose of distinguishing between honest and dishonest elements working in the government machinery, and the decision being left to the common people of Iran. This Maṣnavī poem of the Qāim Maqām was afterwards adapted by other poets as a pattern for their poetry. Iraj Mīrzā wrote his Maṣnavī poem the 'Arif-nāmah on the model of Jalāyer-nāmah, as in the 'Ārif-nāmah, Iraj Mirzā has himself accepted, where he says:—

جلایرنامهٔ قایم مقام است - که سرمشق من اندر این کلام است

---

1 جلایر نوکر اخلاص کیش است - بخدمت از همه خدام بیش است
*Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām*, p. 187.

2 بجوی اوفتاده و ار جون گذشتهٔ - چو گیو ار لجهٔ جیحون گذشتهٔ
*Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām*, p. 187.
In this verse "Jun" has colloquially been used in place of Jān (life).

سفرها کرده در دریا و خشکی - نشستهٔ روی اسب و توی کشتی
*Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām*, p. 187.
In this verse "*TUY-I*" (in) is a colloquial word used in place of DAR (in).

جلایر در تفنن نا بلد نیست - تفنن پارهٔ اوقات بد نیست
*Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām*, p. 187.
In this verse the word NĀ-BALAD is colloquial which means ignorant.

جلایر هر دو چشمش سرمه دارد - ز پوشن یک عبا یک برمه دارد
*Dīvān-i-Qā'im Maqām*, p. 189.
In this verse the word PUSHAN (mantle) has colloquially been used in place of PUSHISH (covering).

خوشا آنانکه ملک و آب دارند - یو و اوجار و چوم و کاب دارند

یو : یوغ است که بر گردن گاو میگذارند' اوجار در حلقه آهنین است که بیوغ میآویزند چوم آلتی است که بگاو بستهٔ خرمن میکوبند - همه این واژه‌ها عامیانه است که در دهات و ولایات دهقانان بآن صحبت' میکنند ( رجوع شود به پاورقی دیوان قائم مقام ص ۱۹۳ )

بیچرخ آهنینش خورد سازد - چو باد آید یواشن برفرارد

یواشن آلتی است که بدان خرمن را باد داده کاه را از گندم جدا میکنند - پنجه و هلاچین نیزگویند -

، این واژه نیز در دهات ایران مورد استعمال میبا شد - رجوع شود به دیوان قائم مقام ص ۱۹۴

The specimen of the verses in the Jalāyer-nāmah is as follows[1]:—

جلایر قرض او بی حد و مر شد * ز سرما حالتش از سگ بتر شد
جلایر تا زنخ در زیر قرض است * ز سرما تا سحر هر شب بلرز است
چرا شهزاده از حالش خبر نیست * بفکر کودکان در بدر نیست
جلایر هرچه گوید راست گوید * تمامی بی کم و بی کاست گوید
جلایر زاده عبد زر خریدیست * که اینجا آمده بهر امیدیست
نه شهزاده بدرگاهش طلب کرد * نه او ناخواسته ترک ادب کرد
اگر من پیر هستم او جوان است * سزای خدمت این آستان است
نه نا اصل و نه او باش ست این طفل * نه هرجا آش فراش ست این طفل
چرا باید که در کنجی بیفتد * چو گیلانی که از پنجی[2] بیفتد
طمع دارد ز لطف شاهزاده * که گردد شفقتش بروی زیاده
الهی تا جهان پاینده باشد * پس از هر رفتنی آینده باشد
رود ادبار آید بخت و اقبال * بهر روز و بهر ماه و بهر سال
برای چاکران شاهزاده * که بادا عمر و دولت شان زیاده

The Qāim Maqām is considered by the Persians as one of the greatest literary revivalists in Iran, who followed the progressive school of literary renaissance. In the whole history of Persian literature, he is one of the three eminent writers who wrote scientific works in literary language. First of all this style was adopted by Ṣā'in-ud-Dīn 'Alī Tūrkah during the reign of Shāh Rukh, and then it was followed by Abu'l-Fazl 'Allāmī who in his well-known work the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, described the principles of the Brāhmanic faith in literary language and style; and the third writer was the Qā'im Maqām[3] who wrote a number of treatises on dogmatic theology, philosophy, rhetoric and prosody in literary language and scientific refined style ; and in epistle writing he is progressive, and possesses sweetness, originality, beauty of language and an extraordinary power of adaptation as well as expression. A number of his treatises written on various subjects are as follows:—

1. *Risāla-i-'Arūẓ* (incomplete)
2. Dībācha to *Jihādiya-i-kabīr*, written by his father Mīrzā Buzurg
3. Dībācha to the *Jihādiya-i-Ṣaghīr*, another work of his father
4. Introduction to the Miftāhu'n-Nabūwat, written by Ḥajj Mollāh Reza-i-Hamadānī

[1] *Dīvān-i-Qā-im Maqām*, pp. 190-191.

[2] The English word PUNCH is taken from Persian PANJ, meaning five and the drink is so-called because of its five ingredients: arrack (spirit), sugar, tea, lemon, and water. But the Persian PANJ has been influenced in pronounciation by the English PUNCH. See, S. Haim's *New Persian-English Dictionary*.

[3] *Sabk Shināsī* (Criticism on style) vol. III, p. 363.

5. Introduction to the Resāla-i-Aṣbāt-i-Nabūwat written by Mīrzā Buzurg
6. *Rīsāla-i-Shikwah* (in Arabic)
7. *Rasāla-i-Shamāyil*-i-Khāqān
8. *Jalāyir-nāmah*
9. *Dīvān-i-Shi'r*
10. *Qaṣā'id-wa-Qaṭa'āt*
11. *Munsha'āt*

These works (excluding Nos. 8 & 9) in form of a miscellanea (a collection of his wrintings), both prose and poetry, were published by prince Farhād Mīrzā son of prince 'Abbās Mīrzā in the month of Muḥarram, 1282 (1865-6 A. D.) at Tabrīz, of which the *Munsha'at* is considered one of his important works. The *Munsha'āt* is like a pivot on which the Qāim Maqām's fame rests. This work is a collection of his letters addressed to his father, wife, friends and some of his eminent contemporaries like Mīrzā Ṣādiq Marvazi, Mirzā Muḥammad 'Ali 'Āshtiyānī, Fāẓil Khān Karūsī, Mīrzā Buzurg Nūrī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Barūjardī, Mīrzā Mūsā Khān, 'Abdu'l-Ḥusain Khān, Mīrzā Taqī 'Alī-ābādī etc.

A bird's-eye glance on these letters will be enough to understand the outstanding literary genius of the Qā'im Maqām. The expression is sweet and elegant. The sentences are small, symmetrical, free-hand, and full of natural flow and beauty. Sometimes he writes very simply and sometimes very scholarly but his works are always characterised by eloquence. No doubt he is progressive both in prose and poetry, and coins new words and phrases as well, but he seems to pace with the classic foundation behind. The Qā'im Maqām is also no doubt free in using Arabic words, idioms, phrases and expressions in his writings but his nice and masterly way of expressions, sublimity of thought, progressive sort of classical style and command over the language provide the readers with such pleasure and joy as they never feel tired, and in this lies the Qaim Maqam's great success.

Apart from the literary point of view, the Qā'im Maqām's letters are of great importance on account of political, social, geographical, historical, economic and other informations recorded in them.

The following are some specimens of the Qā'im Maqām's letters:—

(۱) حبذا بخت مساعد که پس از چندین گاه' پروانهٔ التفات مخدوم مشفق مهربان مشعر بر گله‌های دوستانه و نصایح مشفقانه رسید و مزید اعتماد ببقای عهد مودت گردید.

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(۱) کاغذیست که قایم مقام بمیرزا بزرگ نوری در مراجعت نواب رکن‌الدوله علی نقی* میرزا از تبریز که یک سال بعد از مصالحهٔ' روس آمده بود نوشته است ( رجوع شود به "منشات قایم مقام" ص۹–۱۰ چاپ تبریز ۱۲۸۲ هجری )

کلک مشکین تو هردم که ز ما یاد کند
ببرد اجر دو صد بنده که آزاد کند

گله فرموده بودید که چرا رقیمجات مشفقانه را بعرایض صادقانه جواب نکرده ام مگر هنوز ندانسته اید که فرمائیشات سرکار همه عین صواب است و مسئلهٔ بیجواب اگر شما به بندهٔ مخلص رقیمهٔ ننویسید و رشحات کلک گهربار را از مخلصان امیدوار دریغ بفرمایید جای رنجش و گله هست برخلاف که هرچه زحمت ندهم خوبتر است، خوبرویان را شاهدی سزاوار است و زشت رویان را مستوری چهرهٔ زشتان چندانکه محجوب تر باشد مرغوبتر افتد - طبیعت عنبر هر چند مکرر گردد دلکش‌تر است و بوی سیر هر قدر ضایعتر شود ناخوشتر - اگر من بالمثل خدام مخادیم گرامی را از روایح کریهه پیاز و سیر رنجه و دلگیر نسازم راحتی بر ایشان خواسته‌ام و زحمتی کاسته - بلی درباب چاقو اگر حرفی دارید جوابهای شافی در مقابل هست - چند بار که چاقوهای بسیار خوب مختار و ممتاز مرغوب بحضرت سامی انفاذ شد مقبول طبع بلند و خاطر مشکل‌پسند نیفتاد و بخدا که خوب تر از آنها در کارخانهٔ فرانسه و انگلیس بدست نمی افتد تا چه رسد ببازخانه تبریز و تفلیس - از آن گذشته وقایع نگاری باین ولایت فرستادید که "آفتی بود آن شکار افکن کزین صحرا گذشت" گنج چاقو دگر دان که چای و قند کنار سکه در این مملکت چنان شد که اسلام در دیار فرنگ و انصاف در بلاد ایران و صبر در قلوب عشاق و عنقا در اقطار آفاق و ظلم در عهد عدل شاهنشاه و پول در کیسهٔ نواب نایب السلطنه روحی فداه - بلی از این سه متاع اگر درین حدود وجودی هست از یخدانهای [1]بساط و انبانهای لازم‌الانبساط باید خواست تا چه کند قوت بازوی تو - روزی که موکب نواب رکن‌الدوله بر جناح نهضت بود بسیار سعی و تلاش کردم که شاید برای گوهر کان بروجرد محمد که بنام از همه عالم امکانش برتر گیریم یک قبضه چاقو تحصیل کنم صورت امکان نیافت وجود خارجی نداشت اما نصایح مشفقانهٔ سرکار چون همه بر وفق مصلحت بود و دلایل محکمه داشت بگوش جان شنیدیم و تصدیق نمودیم و دنبال فرمایشات مؤکدهٔ شما رفتیم که البتهٔ حقیقت آن تا امروز بر رای صواب نمای ملازمان سامی مشهود و مکشوف شده خواهد بود "متوکلا علی الله و مستعینا به مستمداً منه" تا چه بازی رخ نماید بیدقی خواهیم راند -

[1] Basāt was the cashier of Mīrzā Ṣādiq Marvazī, the historiographer at the court of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Qāchār.

(۱) شاهزاده جان، قربانت شوم - ز دوری تو نمردم چه لاف مهر زنم که "خاک بر سر من باد مهربانی من" - اما حالا یقین بدانید که در این واقعهٔ هایله که خاک بر سر من و ایران شد تلف خواهیم گردید، مشکل است بار دیگر بفیض حضور و صحبت سرکار و بفوز خدمت بانو نه برسم دریغ و درد که آسمان نخواست ایران نظام گیرد و دولت و دین انتظام پذیرد دراین اعصار و اعوام کسی مثل ولیعهد جنت‌مقام یاد ندارد عدل محض محض عدل بود، حق خدمت خوب میدانست و قدر نوکر خوب میشناخت بخدمت جزئی نعمت کلی میداد، ایتام را پدر بود و ارامل را پسر، اهل آذربایجان در مدت سی سال پروردهٔ احسان بودند اهل خراسان را در این مدت سه سال چنان بندهٔ عدل و انعام و غلام فضل و اکرام خود فرمودند که صد برابر مطیع تر از اهل آن سامان شده بودند، این غلام پیر بچه زبان بگوید و بچه بیان بنویسد، خدا نخواست که جهان در عهد جهانداری او زنده و نازنده شود - خوب از نواب مستطاب امیرزادهٔ اعظم و مخدوم مکرم امیر نظام چرا نمی نویسید، دو ماه است خبر دوستی از آذربایجان نداریم، خدا نکرده میان ایشان نفاق است یا انشاء الله اتفاق - امیدواریم انشاء الله اولاد ولیعهد مرحوم طوری راه بروند که دشمن‌مال باشند نه دشمن‌کام، و روز بروز بر شان و شوکت این اوجاق گردون رواق افزوده شود و زحمتهای مرحوم ولیعهد بهدر نرفته باشد مختصری از شما بهمراه آمد. نواب ظل السلطان رسید هیچ مفید فایدهٔ نشد البته هرکه آید از احوالات مفصل مرقوم دارید نه مجمل - از نواب فرهاد میرزا تعریف نوشته بودید که در مشق پیش است و در درس بیش - مرحوم ولیعهد هم کمال التفات داشت و اذن عروسی مرحمت کرده بودند حالا که این قضیه اتفاق افتاد البته بتاخیر خواهید انداخت -

خوش گرفتند حریفان سر زلف ساقی
گر فلک شان بگذارد که قراری گیرند

همان کاغذ بنظر شریف نواب مستطاب شاهزادهٔ اعظم روحی فداه رسید، عنایت فرمودند معزی‌الیه در خدمت نواب شاهزادهٔ اعظم اختصاص دیگر دارد - انشاء الله در بهار اگر آمدنی شدیم آن حسب الحکم بدین طرفها آمدنی خواهد شد - از نواب امیرزاده جهانگیر میرزا هیچ مرقوم نفرموده اید که چرا با ما گرفتی در انداخته و با رزیلان ساخته "عسی ان تحبوا شیئاً فهو شر لکم" سایر امیرزادگان از بزرگ و

(I) This letter was written from Khurāsān to Shāh-zādah Khānum at Tehrān after the death of prince 'Abbās Mīrzā. She was the sister of the prince and the first wife of the Qā'im Maqām. Vide *the Munsha'āt*, pages 166-7.

کوچک چنانچه در ایام ولیعهد مرحوم مطیع رای و تدبیر مخدوم مکرم و امیرزادهٔ اعظم بودند حال نیز باید بهمان حالت باقی باشند که حکم نواب شاهزاده اعظم روحی فداه همین است و بس تا انشاءالله در حوت و حمل بعون خدای عز و جل که باذربایجان آمدیم جهان را ذرآیئن و طرح نو است تا از پردهٔ غیب چه در آید والسلام -

(۱) مخدوم من "ای آنکه مرا در همه عالم - مانند تو یک یار وفادار نباشد" نشاء الله تعالی همیشه با مراد خود باشید نه مثل بنده و جلایر که از مفارقت شما ناکامیم و نامراد - رقیمه رسید الطاف نواب رکن‌الدوله که شرح داده بودید هرچه فکر میکنیم خدمتی بسزا بر نیامد از دستم شاید از نتیجه عنایتها و اعانتهای شما باشد اینجا که بزرگ و کوچک و آقا و نوکر همه خود را رهین خجالت میدانند ایچ اقاسی باشی را خوب نشد که در طهران ندیدید و خوب شد که در قزوین دیدید بقاعده "ما لا یدرک کله" از اینجا میرزا صادق منشی را باحوال جزئی فرستادند تا تمهید مقدمات شما را تمتوم ذیل شرد اما سپهدار اگرچه مخلص را بفرمایشات شما کمال اعتماد است لکن کاغذهای ولایت طورهای دیگر میرسد ملک الکتاب بهتر از من خبر دارد یکی از کاغذها را نزد اخوی میرزا موسی خان فرستادم البته ملاحظه خواهید فرمود قدری از عراق و فارس ناخوش بودند بنظر نواب نایب السلطنه روحی فداه رسید بسیار تغیر فرمودند اما دانسته باشید که نه نواب نایب السلطنه عرضهای شما را بکسی بروز داده اند نه بنده از فرمایشات شما بروز بکسی داده ام ملاحظه فرمایند که "باده فروش از کجا شنید" فرمودند حقیقت این امر را درست تشخیص بدهید و بعد از ورود دارالخلافه دقت کامل کنید و از روی علم یقین اعلامی بکنید درباب جناب آصف الدوله فرمودند حرف همان است که فرموده ایم تخلف ندارد والسلام -

(1) This letter was written to the imperial histor... at the court of Fath 'Ali Shāh. Vide the *Munsha'āt*, Tabriz edition, A.H. 1282, p. 53.

# PERSIAN CONTRIBUTION TO MUGHAL ART.

*By Miss Nouchine Naficy.*

THE Mughal Empire was founded in India by Babar, a descendant of Amir Timur, at the close of the sixteenth century.

Babar, the knight-errant, driven out of his ancestral home in Farghana, showed himself an ideal prince of Persian Renaissance. From his Turco-Mongol origin he inherited the indomitable courage and methodical spirit, but in his family the roughness of Turkish race had long been moderated by the softening influences of Persian culture and environment. He was a member of the Timurid house at whose court in Eastern Persia, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, miniature painting had reached its zenith. Babar shared the same artistic taste of his cousin Sultan Husain Baiqara, the patron of Bihzad and the school of painting at Herat. Babar was also a poet, a musician, a learned philosopher, a keen lover of beauty in nature and art, "a born artist" as is evident from every page of his delightful Memoirs.

And it was he and his descendants who introduced in India the contemporary civilisation of Persia from which they were to draw so much of their inspiration in learning and art.

Humayun, the son and successor of Babar, was kindly received by Shah Tahmasp during his sojourn in Persia. At the time several pupils of Bihzad were working at Tahmasp's court at Tabriz. The Shah set out their works for the admiration of the exiled monarch. He also made special arrangements for him to visit the places of historical and artistic interests. This close contact with the artistic centre of Tahmasp's court exercised great influence on Humayun's mind. It should not, therefore, surprise us to find that as soon as he recovered the throne of Kabul he asked Mir Sayyid Ali, the last pupil of Bihzad, and Abdul Samad of Shiraz, to enter his service. At Kabul Humayun and his little son Akbar took lessons in drawing, and Mir Sayyid Ali started the illustration of the ***Dástán-i-Amír Hamzah.***

Under Akbar, Abdus Samad became the master painter of the atelier of painting at Fatehpur Sikri, where under the guidance of the artists from Persia, with their technique and ideology, worked the indigenous painters of the country. As we know Abdus Samad was the teacher of some of the famous Hindu artists such as, Dasawanth and Baswanth.

It was in this way that the Hindu artists learned the Persian style which is shown in rich pattern and solid colour, and came under Chinese influence through Persian traditions, which shows itself in a mastery of

blind lines, independent of charm of colour. It is however in colour that these pictures excel, being unusually a mosaic of colour. Another feature of Persian art which is to be found in Mughal painting is the minuteness of treatment, the decorative composition, and the extremely fine and short outline. Persian art is the art of line and not of volume. In this respect it attained virtuosity and inventiveness ; qualities which it passed on to the Mughal art. It is also in their origin that these two arts have a close resemblance. Suhrawardy very appropriately notices that both Persian and Mughal art are the art of the court, art of the aristocratic society, a growth of luxury and leisure, a product for the delight of connoisseurs, without any democratic appeal.

The Mughals borrowed from Persia not only the technique, but also the subject-matter ; classical books of Persian literature offered them always a vast subject. For long the unique work of Mughal artists consisted in the illustration of these manuscripts.

As the Mughal Emperors were constantly engaged in war, naturally their art dealt largely with battle scenes, models for which were taken from the *Shah-Namah* of Firdausi. Birds and animals in Mughal art had their prototypes in the Mesopotamian school of the thirteenth century. Scenes of chase, especially connected with the legend of Bahram Gur, fill the pages of Persian books and served as a model for the hunting scenes of the Mughal Sovereigns. The meeting of divines in a garden is a frequent Persian theme, especially at Herat. We have also pictures of the Mughals such as Shah Jahan visiting a Mullah or Prince Dara Shikoh engaged in religious discussion.

Of all the themes portraiture must be considered as the most significant production of Mughal art. If the latter will live in man's memory it will be for its architecture and its portraits. The Persians too had great portraitists such as Bihzad, Riza Abassi and Sultan Muhammad. But Mughal portraiture stands much higher. An individual portrait at the same time represents types. This feature has its origin in the love of realism which made the Mughal artists anxious to translate the psychological trait of their imperial models.

So during the sixteenth century Persia played the same part *vis-a-vis* the Mughal art as Renaissance Italy did in relation to the art of France and Flanders. Although the elements which had been derived from Italy are observed in it, yet they are subdued to native genius. In the case of Mughal painting, the early Persian inspirations are applied to the background of Rajput folk art.

Percy Brown has noticed that, in its origin, Mughal painting was merely a province of Persian painting, but like the dynasty itself, it was not slow to become naturalised.

India had since the second century of Christian era till the end of the ninth century fresco painters, decorating the walls of the Ajanta Caves.

Although the gap between these wall paintings and early miniature painting is rather long, but still in the epoch which we are concerned with, their traditions were not completely extinct. Mughal art owes its realistic aspect to the heritage of old Ajanta, which had enriched the lessons of Persia.

The result of the combination of these two schools of painting was that it gave birth under Emperor Jahangir to Mughal art properly so-called. It is distinguished from the Persian school by its love of realism, and from the Rajput art by its calligraphic quality.

It was by this process that the "Persian miniature" developed into the "great Mughal school of painting" as Rene Grousset has said in his *Civilisation of the East.*

# بوستان هند

ایدل ببوی غنچه‌ای از بوستان هند
جان را نثار کن بره دوستان هند

تا دوستان هند بمانند شادمان
غم نامه‌ای بیارم از داستان هند

در داستان هند نهان راز راستی است
شاید اگر بجوئی از راستان هند

هنداست پر نگار ز خون دلاوران
دشت است لاله‌زار ز راجاستان هند

آن است مردی که به هندوستان بود
وانکو نه مردی بود آن نیست آن هند

صد گنج حکمت و خردت میدهد اگر
یک داستان بخوانی از باستان هند

دست هنر برآری از آستین بخت
پائی اگر گذاری از آستان هند

حکمت مدام درپی سبزان با نمک
دلداده طوطی است به شکّرستان هند

علی اصغر حکمت

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* This poem, a tribute to India, is from the learned pen of His Excellency Dr. Ali Asghar *Hekmat*, the Iranian Ambassador in New Delhi, of whom, we had the pleasure of publishing a short notice in the *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. VII, No. 3. An attempt at an English rendering of the poem is given on the next page.

# INDIA—A FRAGRANT GARDEN

O, Heart! smell a rose-bud of India's garden,
Sacrifice thy life for the love of Indian friends ;

That Indian friends might become delighted,
I should tell a plaintive tale from India's legends ;

The secret of truth lies hidden in the legends of India,
It behoves thee if thou seekest it from India's upright men ;

India resembles a coloured picture with the blood of her heroes,
The desert hath turned a tulip garden due to India's Rajastan ;

Heroism is that which is India's
And what is not heroism is not of India ;

A hundred treasure-houses of wisdom and philosophy they'd offer thee, shouldst
Thou read a single tale of ancient India ;

The hand of Fortune would shower talent on thee,
Wert thou to put thy foot on the threshold of India ;

Always in pursuit of the nut-complexioned ones, *Hekmat*
Is, like unto a paroquet, fascinated by sugar fields—which is India.

M. ISHAQUE.

# THE PERSIAN SCENE

*By V. Courtois, S.J.*

## PRINCE ALI REZA

Prince Ali Reza, the eldest of H. I. Majesty the Shah's six brothers and heir apparent to the Throne of Iran, was killed accidentally when his private plane crashed in wild jungle territory 40 miles North of Teheran. The wreckage of the plane was discovered on November 2nd ; the plane had been missing since October 27th. The bodies of the Prince's pilot and of a peasant the Prince was taking to Teheran for hospital treatment were also found in the plane.

The Prince's body was brought to the Sapahsalar Mosque, near the Majlis building, Teheran, whence it was taken to Rey, four miles south of the town, on November 3rd, to be interred near Reza Shah's tomb.

Prince Ali Reza was a member of the Regency Council during the Shah's visit to the U.S.A. in 1949. He had escaped unhurt when caught up in a pro-Mossadegh demonstration in July 1952.

### *I. Politics.*

*Pakistan Governor-General to Visit Iran.*—Mr. Ansari, new Iranian Ambassador to Pakistan, has been directed by Teheran to extend an invitation to Mr. Gholam Mohammad, Pakistan Governor-General, to visit Iran.

It is said that talks in this connection have already taken place between the two officials and Pakistan Governor-General is expected to visit Iran next fall to discuss with Iranian officials economic, political and military relations between Iran and Pakistan.

During his stay in Iran, Pakistan Governor-General will be an official guest of His Majesty the Shah.

*Iran Files Request for International Court Seat.*—A Foreign Ministry spokesman revealed that Iran has filed her candidacy for a seat on the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

The appointments to the court are made by the General Assembly.

There are six vacancies on the World Court now, five terms have expired and the death of India's Sir Rau has left a sixth vacancy.

Iran has nominated three men to fill these vacancies. Dr. Matin Daftari of Iran, Professor Henri Rolin of Belgium, and Dr. Kuriyama of Japan.

According to the UN CHARTER each country has a right to nominate candidates from other countries. To increase the chances of electing her own candidate, Iran has also nominated these two renowned men.

Appointments to the World Court are for nine years. At the end of this period, five terms expire and new appointments are made.

Iran has also appointed four men to represent her legal affairs at the United Nations Secretariat, Dr. Abdeh, Dr. Matin Daftari, Dr. Ghasem-zadeh, and Dr. Amid.

*Jet Planes for Iran.*—General McClor, leader of the American military mission in Iran who left Teheran for Washington recently will discuss with US army officials on the possibility of equipping Iranian air force with a number of jet planes. He will also discuss increased military aid to Iran. Iran's air force is now in a position to make use of jet planes.

*U. S. Ambassador Meeting with Tribal Leader.*—During his recent visit to Tabriz, the American Ambassador, Mr. Henderson, is reported to have also met Umar Khan, leader of Shakak tribe. No information is available about the matters discussed between them. It is, however, said that the U. S. Amrbassador has informed the tribal leader of the decision of American Government to invite a number of Iranian tribal leaders to visit America.

*British Military Attache in Khorramshahr.*—Colonel McLin, new British Military Attache in Iran has arrived in Khorramshahr from Basra. It is stated that the object of his visit to Khorramshahr is to get necessary information about the present situation in the coastal areas of Iran in the Persian Gulf.

McLin is a prominent British officer who during recent years has held a number of key posts. The first task of Col. McLin is to get a comprehensive view of the strength and position of the Iranian army. He will provide Iranian army officials with necessary information about the advantages of British war ammunitions. He is expected to invite a number of Iranian army officers to visit Britain and study the British army and war ammunitions.

*The Teheran Arrests.*—The Teheran Military Governorate has issued the following official communique in connection with the recent arrests of men in league with the Tudeh:—

" The Government was recently informed of the penetration of agents of the outlawed Tudeh Party into the security forces. The information revealed that the Tudeh elements had of late been working with their extensive and treacherous plans to penetrate into army forces in order to neutralize the security measures, to cause dissession among the regular forces

of the army, the police, and the gendarmerie and to create general discontent among army officers. Their influence in the security organizations was growing more and more and their underground band carrying on espionage activities being rapidly strengthened. This was evident from the contents of newspapers and other publications of the outlawed Tudeh Party regarding certain information about army secrets: agents had succeeded in misguiding a number of weak and low-minded officers and had been able to use them as means for carrying out their treacherous and espionage activities within the army, the police and the gendarmerie forces.

"To uproot this sinister penetration of Tudeh elements into the security forces and to throw away traitors from the regular army, police and gendarmerie forces, special secret agents began working hard with their hidden moves and after thorough investigations and closely following the moves of suspected officers they succeeded in discovering their underground band. A number of officers who had become stooges of traitors and worked for them were arrested along with necessary documents. The documents found in their possession revealed the names of those who were in league with the outlawed Tudeh Party and thus a number of officers were arrested. All officers who had been in league with the outlawed Tudeh Party and were working for that Party within the army, police and gendarmerie forces have now been arrested.

"In view of undeniable documents found in their possession, most of the detainees had to admit their treason. While admitting their treason some of these officers expressed repentance for their misdeeds and asked forgiveness. The Military Governorate of Teheran has the pleasure to inform the public that with the arrest of these treacherous officers the influence of the outlawed Tudeh Party in the army, police and gendarmerie forces has been totally uprooted.

The number of detainees has reached up to 600, one of the guards of Premier Zahedi is also among the detainees."

*Army Officers Sentenced.*—On 7th October, 1954, the Iranian Military court sentenced twelve army officers to death punishment, for having sought to jeopardise the loyalty of the Army ranks and for having organised a revolt against the existing constitutional regime, also for transmitting Government and military documents to a foreign Government. The sentenced officers appealed for a revision of judgment. The revision court dittoed the verdict of death punishment in case of nine Army and one non-Army official, and sentenced the remaining two to life-imprisonment.

These sentences were executed on the 19th October, 1954.

## II. *Economics.*

*Persian Rial Revalued.*—Reports from Teheran state that commercial exchange rates for the Persian rial have been adjusted, raising the external value of the rial for trade transactions. The rate for the dollar has been

lowered from 93 rials to 82 rials and that for the pound sterling from 253 to 229.6.

Persia operates a rather complicated system for foreign exchange dealings. The official rate of around 90 rials to the pound is little used: indeed, until the departure of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company the official rate applied to the company's transfers of funds for necessary payments in Persia and to little else, an arrangement which involved Anglo-Iranian Co. in considerably greater expenditures than would have been incurred with a more realistic exchange rate.

The commercial exchange rate is a compound rate, comprising the sum of the official rate and the rate fixed by the central bank for export certificates. Some time ago this rate was as high as 280 rials to the pound ; but it was planned to reduce it in two stages. The reduction now announced is presumably the second of the adjustments. It does not appear that the cut is directly linked with the oil settlement. But it will be interesting to see what exchange rate the new consortium will be allowed for its necessary expenditure in Persia. It seems hardly likely that it will be content to accept the unrealistic official rate which for long applied to the A.I.O.C.

*1,000 Pilgrims Perish in Iran Floods.*—More than 1,000 bodies of pilgrims have been found at the Muslim shrine of Imam Zadeh Davoud at Farahzad, 30 miles north-west of Teheran, where a disastrous flood occurred in the middle of August.

Eye-witnesses reported that Farahzad village was thronged with pilgrims on August 17—the holy day of Eid Ghadir.

Many old, sick and lame people were among the victims, because the shrine is supposed to have miraculous healing properties. When news of the flood's approach was received, devout Muslims cried: "Let us flee into the Imam's shrine. He will save us."

But only the pilgrims who fled to the nearby hills were saved.

*Industrial Development.*—The German Minister, Dr. Gild Hammer, Mr. Gitte, the Commercial Secretary of French Embassy in Teheran, called early in September on Mr. Habib Nafisi, Deputy Prime Minister, who is also Head of the Industrial Development Organization and confirmed a recent decision of the German and French Governments to make available to Iran special credits for the development of private industries in Iran. It was decided during the meeting that Iranian authorities should provide necessary arrangements for proper utilization of these credits.

*Audience of Shahinshah.*—The representatives of provinces who came to Teheran to take part in the first anniversary celebration of national insurrection of 19th August, called at the Sa'adabad Palace at the invitation of Imperial Court. They were received in audience at the Palace by His Imperial Majesty. During the audience the Shah talked to each of the representatives and enquired about their living conditions.

*Director of Propaganda Visits Europe.*—Mr. Isfandiar Bozrgmehr, Director-General of Press and Propaganda Department, left for Europe by air early in September to visit the propaganda and broadcasting installations in various European countries.

*Loan from Import and Export.*—Engineer Taleghani (a former Agricultural Minister at the time of P. M. Mossadeq) who is now the managing director of Karaj Dam Project, left Teheran for America recently as special government representative to seek the approval of the Import and Export Bank for extending to Iran 50 million dollars loan.

He took with him six development projects which should be financed by the proposed loan.

*Peasants to Receive 60,000 Hectares of Land in Khuzestan.*—A commission, presided over by His Excellency Mr. Ahmad Hossein Adl, Minister for Agriculture, is considering the proposal of distributing 60,000 hectares of Khalessa land in Khuzestan among young officials and peasants. The commission has been set up at the instruction of Prime Minister General Zahedi.

*New American Free Aid to Iran.*—The American Government has offered to Iran another sum of 10 million dollars as free aid. This brings the total American free aid to Iran up to 70 million dollars. This is in addition to aids granted under Point Four Program.

The new free aid will be used for the import of essential goods. The rials which the government will earn through the sale of dollars will be devoted to meet the budget deficit.

*A Bank of Mines to be set up shortly.*—The Ministery of National Economy have decided to set up a Bank of Mines shortly to encourage mining in Iran, particularly of such minerals as are in demand in international markets.

The Bank will be established with Government capital and will grant long term loans to miners. A bill in this regard will soon be introduced in the Parliament to authorize the establishment of the proposed Bank.

*The Population of Iran by Provinces according to the Census of* 1953.

| Province | Chief Towns | Men | Women | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st Ostan (Province) | Resht ... | 12,66,725 | 13,67,548 | 26,34,273 |
| 2nd Ostan ,, | Teheran ... | 16,31,952 | 16,95,550 | 33,27,502 |
| 3rd Ostan ,, | Tabriz ... | 12,52,847 | 12,21,299 | 24,74,146 |
| 4th Ostan ,, | Razayia ... | 3,99,039 | 3,93,332 | 7,92,371 |
| 5th Ostan ,, | Kermanshah ... | 10,83,441 | 11,61,444 | 22,44,885 |
| 6th Ostan ,, | Ahwaz ... | 8,71,797 | 9,45,663 | 18,07,460 |
| 7th Ostan ,, | Shiraz ... | 8,03,483 | 8,52,501 | 16,55,984 |
| 8th Ostan ,, | Kerman ... | 6,41,878 | 6,59,457 | 13,01,335 |
| 9th Ostan ,, | Meshed ... | 12,26,975 | 12,33,172 | 24,60,147 |
| 10th Ostan ,, | Ishfahan ... | 8,90,224 | 8,89,345 | 17,79,569 |
| Total for whole of Iran | | 1,00,58,725 | 1,04,19,311 | 2,04,77,672 |

*N. B.*—The above statistics are liable to further amendments, and are not to be taken as final.

*A. I. O. C. will get over Rs. 43 Crores.*—The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will receive £32,400,000 (over 43 crores) from seven oil companies for their share in the consortium marketing Iranian oil.

The seven companies will also pay the A. I. O. C. the sterling equivalent of 10 cents per U.S. barrel—about 5s. 4d. per ton of crude oil at the present exchange rate—on crude oil and other products they export from Iran. These payments will cease when they have reached $510 million.

Sir William Fraser, the Chairman of the Company, quoted these figures in a message to company stockholders following Iranian ratification of the agreement. He recalled that the Iranian Government had agreed to pay the company 25 million sterling in 10 equal annual instalments beginning on January 1, 1957 "in full and final settlement of all claims and counter claims."

The Chairman disclosed in his message that after the first 25 years, the area in which the consortium's concession applies will be progressively diminished from the original 100,00 sq. miles. "The agreement is for a period of 25 years with a provision for three five-year extensions," he said. "The area is in the first place approximately 100,000 sq. miles ; but each of the five-year extensions is conditional on a progressive reduction so that in the last five-year period it would be about half the size of the original area."

Sir William said the basis of the agreement was equal sharing of profits between Iran and the oil consortium. The other oil companies would make payments to the A. I. O. C. for their combined 60% interest in the consortium. Production of crude oil during the first three years would total 68 million tons of which about 30 million tons would be processed at Abadan.

The seven companies co-operating with the A. I. O. C. in the consortium are Royal Dutch Shell, the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles and five U.S. concerns—the Gulf Oil Corporation, Socony Vacuum, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company.

*Professor Rolin Lauds Iranian Oil Accord.*—Professor Rolin, the Belgian lawyer of international fame, has welcomed Iranian oil accord. In a message sent through the Iranian Minister at Brussels to the Foreign Minister Mr. Entezam, Professor Rolin has said:

"It is with great pleasure that I have learned about the Iranian oil accord. While I was most pleased at the decision of the International Court of Justice to recognize Iran's sovereignty over her oil resources, I was naturally worried about the difficulties and complications incidental to the re-operation of the Iranian oil industry which had come to a standstill. I cannot judge about the value of the present accord, as I am unaware of its stipulations. However, I feel happy to see that Iran was able to get her

oil industry re-operated and to move, once again, on the path of progress and prosperity without sacrificing her economic independence."

In his reply the Iranian Foreign Minister has thanked professor Rolin for his sentiments and has also appreciated his contributions to Iran's cause at the Hague Court.

### *III. Education.*

*Indian Embassy's Cultural Gesture.*—Mr. Shah, First Secretary to the Indian Embassy in Teheran recently presented a micro-film copy of a unique manuscript of Avicenna's biography to His Excellency Mr. Ali, Minister for Court and President of the Iranian Society for the preservation of National Monuments.

The biography was written by Pir Mohammed Jalaluddin Qannauji (d. 1085 AH/1675 A.D.) a unique copy of which is preserved in the library of Rampur, India.

It may be recalled that the Iranian Society for the preservation of National Monuments celebrated the Millenary of Avicenna in April-May last, and the eminent scholar, H. E. Dr. Tara Chand, the Indian Amabassor in Iran was elected as one of the Vice-Presidents to represent Asian Countries.

*The Third Medical Conference of Iran.*—Her Imperial Majesty Queen Sorayya, the Queen of Iran inaugurated on the 2nd October, 1954, the third Medical Conference, at Ramsar.

Nearly three hundred medical men were participating, in the Conference which held its morning and evening sessions, consecutively for four days. During these sittings medical experts and specialists discussed the ways and means of combating the menace of Tuberculosis, the surgical, medical and pathological treatment of lungs, and vaccine injections.

*Iran donates Books to Delhi University.*—In accordance with the schedule previously set up by the University of Delhi, His Excellency A. A. Hekmat, Ambassador for Iran in India and the Embassy staff visited the University of Delhi on Thursday, the 21st October, 1954, at 5-30 p.m., and presented on behalf of the University of Teheran a set of two hundred books, to the Library of Delhi University.

Inside the magnificent Convocation Hall of the Delhi University the aforementioned books had been beautifully arranged, subject-wise. Mr. A. D. Pandit, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, presided.

The meeting began with a speech by Dr. G. S. Mahajani, Vice-Chancellor, who spoke on the literary achievements of the Ambassador and expressed deep sense of pleasure in receiving what he described as the very precious gift of books for his University. Dr. Mahajani was followed by Mr. Musavi, Head of the Department of Arabic and Persian. Mr. Musavi dwelt at length on the place of Ambassador Hetkmat as a versatile writer and referred to some of his original works.

His Excellency then presented the books to the University and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi received the books in his capacity as Rector of the University.

*Statistics of Iranian Academic Institutions in June-July 1952*

| *Kind of institutions* | Number of each kind | Number of pupils | | | Number of Teachers. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Girls | Boys | Total | Women | Men | Total. |
| Kindergarten | ... 73 | 2,422 | 3,511 | 5,933 | 128 | 18 | 146 |
| Maktabs ... | ... 611 | 5,068 | 12,400 | 17,468 | 227 | 494 | 721 |
| Primary Schools: | | | | | | | |
| Governmental | ... 5,155 | 1,53,801 | 4,47,646 | 6,01,445 | 7,804 | 14,400 | 22,204 |
| Private ... | ... 245 | 15,128 | 33,782 | 48,910 | 738 | 969 | 1,707 |
| *Total of Primary Schools* ... | ... 5,400 | 68,929 | 4,81,426 | 6,50,355 | 8,542 | 15,369 | 23,911 |
| Secondary Schools: | | | | | | | |
| Governmental | ... 338 | 12,314 | 53,066 | 65,380 | 648 | 3,189 | 3,837 |
| Private ... | ... 73 | 4,826 | 11,891 | 16,717 | 114 | 495 | 609 |
| *Total of Secondary Schools* ... | ... 411 | 17,140 | 64,957 | 82,097 | 762 | 3,684 | 4,446 |
| Normal Training Schools ... | ... 21 | 112 | 1,221 | 1,333 | 24 | 139 | 163 |
| Agricultural Training Schools ... | ... 5 | — | 347 | 347 | — | 23 | 23 |
| Technical Institutions ... | 47 | 297 | 2,221 | 2,508 | 31 | 330 | 361 |
| Religious Schools | ... 210 | — | 8,761 | 8,761 | — | 483 | 483 |
| * School for higher Studies & Univ. | ... 8 | 601 | 6,173 | 6,774 | — | — | 481 |
| Adult Schools | ... 1,027 | — | 33,040 | 33,040 | — | 1,027 | 1,027 |

* University of Tabriz, officers academy, police training schools and Post and Telegraph training schools have not been included.

# BOOK REVIEWS

ARBERRY, A. J.: The Legacy of Persia. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1953. XVI, 421 P.—Price 21/s.

The "Legacy of Persia" is not a platitude, not a merely polite or poetical phrase, but a reality of great interest and greater significance. It is therefore in the fitness of things that a volume is devoted to the various aspects of Persian culture in the well known Legacy Series. One is also happy to see that the contributors have done real justice to their themes and thus helped the editor, Prof. Arthur J. Arberry, in producing a work worthy of its subject. He may well count himself fortunate in having been able to enlist a team of writers able and enthusiastic to crystalize deep study and wide reading into an all too constricting and clear compass, thereby giving us the very pith and marrow, so to say the soul and spirit, of most that makes the name of Persia and Iran something to conjure with. As the editor says in his short but illuminating Preface "conflict within the Persian soul has saved the Persian mind from ever becoming sterile." It is this eternal or ever recurring 'aliveness' that has given form and flavour to this culture, which is also mirrored in this volume with life and vigour.

The exception made by me in using above 'most' instead of 'all' is admitted in the book itself;—it refers to the ancient religion of the country. Indeed, reasons too are given for the omission; and they deserve our full attention, especially the last. G. M. Wickens, the author in question, says:

"Finally—and this is inevitably the most compelling reason of all—it is a disappointing but inescapable fact that close on a century of highly concentrated Iranian scholarship has done little to clear the atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding the whole development, practice, and 'climate' of the Zoroastrian faith;......for it has not yet succeeded in assigning a more justly proportionate place to the philological considerations which earlier inevitably governed it, and has tended to remain in consequence subservient to a philosophy long held as outmoded in other branches of Orientalist scholarship and in the humanities generally." (p. 152).

Anyhow, the reader may turn in the meantime to some recent contributions like that of Duchesne-Guillemin, to name only the latest writer on the subject; (cf. my critical summary of his *Ormazd et Ahrimen* in JBRAS as well as my article "Zoroastrian and Pre-Zoroastrian" in the same place). If all concerned were to give greater and more proper attention to this earlier aspect of the subject we may one day have Zarathustra's thought too represented and appreciated as is done the later aspect in the present volume. This treatment seems to me quite original. I shall just quote a few lines from the section on Persian Fatalism:

"Firdausī's implied reduction of Allāh to the level of the Greek gods could not, of course, fail to arouse the anger of the orthodox, and it is difficult not to concede something to their charges of crypto-Zoroastrianism and Persian racial pride. But in any case, he stands unmistakably as a type of the impoverished, but dignified old country gentleman...' a living conserver of the ancient culture, tolerant, balanced, unfanatical, lively, humorous—above all humane. It is a spirit we shall find running all through Persian life, religious and mundane alike." (p 167 f.).

I need hardly add that also other articles have their own intrinsic value and interest but details cannot be given in this short review. Their bare titles must suffice, with occasional explanations. Persia and the Ancient World by J. H. Iliffe. Persia and Byzantium by D. Talbot Rice. Persia and the Arabs by R. Levi. Persia and India after the conquest of Maḥmūd (as regards art) by H. Goetz. The Islamic Art of Persia by D. Barrett. The Persian Language by H. W. Bailey (contains brief notes on and specimens of various Iranian tongues). Persian Literature, Carpets, Gardens, and Science by A. J. Arberry, A. C. Edwards, The Hon. V. Sackville-West and C. Elgood respectively. Persia as seen by the West (from earliest times) by Lockhart. And last but not least "The Royame of Perse' by J. E. Heseltine, a delightful account of Persia as mirrored in popular works on the country.

The volume is adorned with beautiful plates and its general get-up is excellent.—In short, this is *the book* for all lovers of Persia and things Persian.

J. C. TAVADIA

MAYRHOFER, MANFRED: Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Woerterbuch des Altindischen (A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary) 1.-2. Lieferung. Heidelberg 1953. Carl Winter—Universiltaetsverlag. XVI, XXXV, 128 p.

An etymological dictionary of Sanskrit is a great desideratum. The only complete work of the type by C. C. Uhlenbeck, Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Woerterbuch des Altendischen Sprache (Amsterdam 1898-1899), is long out of print and unobtainable even as second-hand. Moreover, now after more than a half century of further research and discoveries it must be called also out of date. To-day are solved many old problems of Indo-European and Old Indian phonology; then is gained greater experience in the investigation of words; further is obtained deeper knowledge of Middle Indian languages, Pali and Prakrits, which enable one to establish borrowings from them into Sanskrit, and last but not least, more and more are explored the non-Aryan languages of India for the enlightenment of obscure words. When this last task will be achieved in a more comprehensive manner, and,—let be it added—when the same will be done in the new avenues opened by the discoveries in Central Asia, especially of the Saka or Khotanese language and literature, to mention only the one out of many which shows the greatest affinity in the matter and manner Indian—then and then only one may think of producing a more or less final etymological dictionary of Sanskrit. (It is worth while to refer here to Bailey's contributions in this field, for instance, "Six Indo-Iranian Notes," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1952, showing that words derived from Dravidian are sometimes really Aryan).

In the meanwhile, however, a beginning must be made. And this the author of the work under review has undertaken to do. No wonder that when the project was announced it was received with universal approbation, and promises of help in one form or another came forth from various quarters. Thus the author has been able to put before the public the first two fascicles of his great work and is sure to carry it out to the end with the hope: the greater the cooperation, the better the success.

Mayrhofer's plan is not to leave out anything from the Indian point of view: dialect words, meanings from non-Aryan languages, word formations according to the spirit and genius of Sanskrit, wrong analysis or division of words, hyper-sanskritisms, and so forth. From the comparative point of view however, reference is made in most cases to the standard works on the subject—by Walde-Pokorny and others. Only occasionally certain details are inserted here for pedagogical purposes. There is no doubt that a more regular inclusion of the closely allied Iranian at least would have been welcome and useful to many; but that is of course another matter, beyond the author's aim and object. As regards Sanskrit loanwords, those in the languages cultivated or influenced by Buddhist missionary activity are as a rule not included; whereas others are fully given.

For the convenience of, say, Indian students of Sanskrit not knowing German the meanings of the entries are given in English too. Also the brief sketch of Sanskrit phonology will be useful to them as well as to others. It is hoped that school, college, and other public libraries will make the work available for the general reader, whereas it is indispensable to the specialist.

Great thanks are due to the publisher for the get-up of the work, which is excellent—worthy of the matter it contains.

This is sufficient for the present. We shall have enough opportunity to mention other details when further fascicles are published. A word, however, may be added for the bibliography. There are some remarkable omissions in the long list. Beside Hertel's two works one experts a couple of his others in the same line; and beside Horn's *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* there ought to have been Huebschmann's *Persische Studien* which gives corrections to it.

J. C. TAVADIA

و عیسی مسیح در موعظه خطاب به شاگردان خود میفرماید.

شنیده‌اید که گفته شده است دوست خویش را محبت کن و دشمن خویش را بغض نما. لیکن من بشما میگویم که اعداء خود را دوست بدارید و از برای آنها که بر شما لعن میکنند برکت طلبید و با آنان که شما را عداوت مینمایند احسان کنید و از بهر آنها که شما را نقش میدهند و زحمت مینمایند دعا کنید. تا پدر خود را که در آسمان است فرزندان باشید. زیرا که او آفتاب خود را بر بدان و نیکان طالع مینماید و باران خود را بر عادلان و ظالمان میفرستد. که اگر آنها را دوست دارید که شما را دوست دارند چه اجر خواهید یافت. آیا باج گیران چنین نمی‌کنند؟ و اگر بر برادران خود فقط سلام مینمائید از دیگران چه افزون کرده‌اید. آیا باج گیران چنین نمی‌نمایند؟ پس کامل باشید چنانچه پدر شما که در آسمان است کامل است.

پیغمبر اسلام نیز بدین نحو از خداوند بزرگ تقاضا مینماید بشر را بصراط مستقیم هدایت فرماید.

''بنام خداوند بخشنده مهربان - حمد از برای خداست که پروردگار هر دو عالم است - بخشنده مهربان - صاحب روز قیامت - تو را عبادت میکنیم. و تو را یاری میجوئیم هدایت کن ما را براه راست راه آنهائی که نعمت دادی بر آنها - نه راه کسانیکه خشم داری بر آنها و نه راه گمراهان.،،

عظمت گاندی در این نکته نهفته است که حقیقت کلیه ادیان بزرگ را دریافته و بدون کوچکترین انحرافی ازان پیروی میکرد. ولی در عین حال پیشقراول یک عصر و دوره جدیدی بشمار میرود. زیرا نشان داد و ثابت کرد راستی و عدم تشدد وسائلی هستند که حصول به نهائی‌ترین آرزو و هدف انسانی یعنی ''نجات بشر،، را امکان‌پذیر میسازند.

امیدواریم که پیام شفابخش وی صلح و آسایش را بر این بشریت مغموم و طوفان‌زده ارزانی دارد.

است . نمیتوان انکار نمود که پرونده‌اش مملو از جنگ‌های خونین و بی‌جهت میباشد . معذلك در همین افسانه تاسف‌انگیز میتوانیم رشد بشریت را در طرق امیدافزا نیز نظاره کنیم . از همان ایامی که بشر بدستجات کوچک منقسم بود و دائما به جنگ و جدال میپرداخت متدرجا بسوی یک هدف دیگر هم پیش رفت که همانا توسعه مناطق صلح و وحدت اجتماعی است . . . . .

ندای بزرگان گذشته که اثر و انعکاس ضعیف بر روح بشر امروزه دارد مصر و پر صدا خواهد شد . همین هاست که در تلقینات و تنبیهات تاریخ جلوه‌گر شده اند . این ندا از اعماق ارواح بشری سرچشمه گرفته و روح انسان بوسیله آنها عالی‌ترین و بهترین تعلیمات خود را بمنصه ظهور رسانده است . شاید اکثر افراد در زندگی روزمره خویش این نصایح را رد کنند ولی برای همیشه انکار شدنی نیستند . بشر ممکن است از کوته نظری و خودسری خویش که مفروق در لذات و حوائج آنی است روگردان شود ولی آن تعلیمات چون سایه همیشه و در همه جا در تعقیبش خواهند بود .

کریشنا در بهگود گیتا یعنی سرود خداوندی میفرماید :

''هر وقت که حق بصراط اضمحلال فرو افتاد و باطل شد علم کرد نفس الهی بمنظور حراست نیکی و نابودی افراد شرور و استقرار مجدد حق در جهان قرن بقرن نمودار خواهد شد'' .

حضرت زرتشت نیز در کتاب مقدس اوستا در جزوه اهوناویتی میسراید .

''اگر تو - ای فانی - دستوراتی را که اهورا مزدا در سعادت و رنج - تنبیه مداوم دروغ و تبرک پیروان حقیقت مقرر فرموده اجراء کنی از این پس وضع خوب خواهد شد''

و بودا اینطور تعلیم میداد .

''برای آنکه به رنج و اندوه بشری پایان دهیم چاره ما همان پیمودن طرق عالی هشتگانه یعنی نظر صحیح - رفتار صحیح - وسایل صحیح - زندگی صحیح - مجاهدت صحیح - فکر صحیح و وجد صحیح است'' .

آنهاست. اما گاندی نشان داد و ثابت کرد راستی و عدم تشدد صفات حمیده‌ئی نیستند که ایجاد و پرورش آنها فقط و فقط در فرد و برای فرد باشد. بلکه ذات و جوهر اجتماع اند. زیرا بقاء اساس و بنیان اجتماعی بدون آنها امکان ناپذیر خواهد بود. این دو عامل در روابط انسانی که وسیله ایجاد دوستی و رفاقت بشری است مورد لزوم اند. بدون شک هیچ اجتماع و ملتی که افراد آن نسبت بهم کاذب و خاطی و متجاوز باشند پا برجا نخواهد ماند. نیروی ملت به اعتمادی بستگی دارد که الهام دهنده و هادی مماشات و معاملات متقابل آنها با یکدیگر باشد و راستی و عدم تشدد است که میتواند ایجاد اعتماد نموده و آنرا نگهدارد. اموری که در اجتماع مربوط به روابط افراد با یکدیگر است بالتساوی شامل روابط بین جوامع و ملل هم میشود. اما ایا تاریخ دارای اسناد و شواهد این مسئله است؟ در بادی امر خیر. زیرا صفحات تاریخ بشر از همان ادوار و ازمنه ماضیه با داستان جنگ و تهاجم و ستیز و فتح و شکست حکومت‌ها و امپراطوریها سیاه شده است. امروزه نیز بیش از هر زمان دیگری بشر در لب پرتگاه قرار گرفته. ما در محیطی زیست میکنیم که هوای آن آغشته بجنگ سرد تبلیغاتی است. سوء ظن تیره و تار و رعب لرزآوری حیات ما را تباه ساخته و برباد داده است. انگیزه‌ها بدوی ما را براه اختراع سلاح‌های شیطان صفتی هدایت کرده که باعث نابودی عمومی میگردد و منظره اضمحلال واقعی و نابودی تمدن را در برابر مان مجسم میسازد. طیعتا بعضی‌ها کلام عدم تشدد گاندی را عملی میدانند که بنیان آن بر لاف طبیعتا بعضی‌ها کلام عدم تشدد گاندی را عملی میدانند که بنیان آن بر لاف و گزاف و تهور بیهوده میباشد اما تاریخ بشر معرف چه حقیقتی است و آیا سرنوشت بشر اینست که فصل آخر کتاب زندگی خود را با خون و اشک برشته تحریر در آورد؟

گاندی باین نکات دل تنگ و افسرده عقیده نداشت و اسناد کافی از خوش‌بینی وی در تاریخ مسطور میباشد. بشر بهتر ازآنچه قصد داشته ایجاد کرده

تعلیمات گاندی فقط مخصوص هند نیست بلکه جنبه و ارزش جهانی دارد . در دنیای امروز که دستخوش ابهام و تردید و خوف است تعلیمات گاندی روش‌های جدیدی میاموزد که ضامن صلح و حسن نیست متقابل و برادری و وحدت تمام ابناء بشر میباشد . . . . . .

پیام او در دو کلمه مختصر شده است . که عبارتند آن ''راستی و عدم تشدد''. . . . . . . . او راستی و عدم تشدد را که دین خود میدانست عالی‌ترین اصول معنوی میشمرد و آنها را حتی از زندگی خویش عزیزتر تلقی میکرد .

درک علل اهمیت زیادی که گاندی باین اصول میداد بس سهل و ساده است . عموم میدانند که طبیعت بشری دو جانبی است . از یک طرف دارای نفس دانی است که مربوط به احتیاجات و حوائج جسمانی‌اش میشود . . . . . . اما از طرف دیگر صاحب نفس عالی‌تری هم هست . . . . . . . . . . . . .

اگر بشر لایق و شایسته پیشرفت میباشد بدان دلیل است که در نفس عالی وی راهنمائی وجود دارد که او را از ظلمت به نور - از جهالت به دانائی و از اشتباه به حقیقت هدایت مینماید . خیر و زیبائی دو وجه راستی است . آنکس که در طلب حقیقت باشد در راهی گام برداشته که به مرام تنویر فکر پایان مییابد . و عزم سفری کرده است که هدف آن خود شناسی و درک نفس میباشد . بشر باین دلیل که صاحب روح و وجدان است بشر است و ضمیر او را از سطح سفلی حیوانی بالا میبرد . سرنوشت واقعی بشر باید وقف خود به حقیقت باشد و این نکته همان ایمانی است که تمام حیات گاندی را در خود جای داده بود . . . . . .

سالک حقیقت برای حصول بهدف باید بر طبیعت نابخرد خویش فائق آید . بعبارت دیگر بر هواهای نفسانی تسلط کامل یابد . و این امر امکان‌پذیر نخواهد بود مگر آنکه بر تشدد یعنی عاملی مسلط گردد که ذات او متصوف به

# سخنرانی جناب آقای دکتر تاراچند در مجلس یادبود تولد مهاتما گاندی

[ در روز شنبه، ۲ - اکتبر ماه ۱۹۵۴ میلادی، بمناسبت تصادف با هشتاد و پنجمین سال تولد مهاتما گاندی که پدر ملت هند بشمار میاید مجالس یادبود او در سراسر هندوستان برپا شد و چنانکه اطلاع داریم سفارتخانه‌های هندوستان نیز مراسم یادبود آن مرد بزرگوار و صلح دوست را در کشورهای خارجه بعمل آورد - و چنانکه اطلاعات حاکی است مراسم یادبود آن مهاتما در تهران (ایران) بطور احسن و بسیار پسندیده و درخور مقام ارجمند آن پدر ملت برگزار شد و در موفقیت این امر، قابلیت و صمیمیت‌هائی که جناب آقای دکتر تاراچند سفیر کبیر و آقای سید نظیر حسین دبیر اول (اطلاعات) و آقای شباهت علی خان دبیر مطبوعاتی و همچنین آقای مسعود برزین و دیگر کارمندان آن سفارتخانه، بخرج دادند حد درجه قابل ستایش و تحسین است - در اینجا متن سخنرانی جناب آقای سفیر کبیر را با کمال امتنان بچاپ میرسانیم و برای چند حذف‌هائی که در متن روا داشتیم از ایشان پوزش میطلبیم - اداره ]

بانوان و آقایان

امروز بمناسبت تصادف با هشتاد و پنجمین سال تولد موهنداس کرمچند گاندی گرد آمده‌ایم تا احترام و تکریم خود را به خدمت آن بزرگ ملت تقدیم کنیم. امروز روزیست که در سراسر کشور پهناور هند در هر دهکده و قریه و شهری مردمان دسته دسته جمع میشوند تا در جلسات یادبود نسبت بذات با برکات آن شخصیت که در قرون جدیده بزرگ‌ترین ولینعمت ملت هند میباشد اظهار مودت و عقیدت نمایند.

گاندی نه تنها هند را به سوی استقلال هدایت کرد بلکه در برابر اذهان و افکار مردم ایده ال‌هائی را قرار داد که پیروی و تعقیب آنها حیات انسانی را ارزش معنوی میبخشد و هرگاه بشر خود را وقف آنها سازد باعث اعتلا تا درجه واقعی بشریت میشود.

که خوی بد از منش (فکر، اندیشه) خود دور دارد ـ هفدهم کسی که حسد نبرد ـ هیجدهم کسی که عداوت و دشمنی نکند ـ نوزدهم کسی که در کوشش زیان نکند ـ بیستم کسی که غم و اندوه بدل (خویش) راه ندهد ـ بیست و یکم کسی که خشم نکند ـ بیست و دوم کسی که ننگ را گناه داند ـ بیست و سوم کسی که سستی و تنبلی نکند ـ بیست و چهارم کسی که به (هستی) یزدان بی‌گمان باشد ـ بیست و پنجم کسی که از تندخوئی و آز (حرص) بپرهیزد ـ بیست و ششم کسی که خود نیکی کند و بدیگران هم نیکی آموزد ـ بیست و هفتم کسی که زیردستان را یاری کند ـ بیست و هشتم کسی که از خودپسندان دوری جوید ـ بیست و نهم کسی که از فریب دادن دیگران بپرهیزد ـ سی‌ام کسی که درمیان دو آشنا نزاع نیندازد ـ سی و یکم کسی که از مهر و دروج یعنی پیمان شکستن بپرهیزد ـ سی و دوم کسی که سود خود را در زیان دیگران نجوید ـ سی و سوم کسی که دبستان و بیمارستان بنا کند.

گویند که این چنین کسان به بهشت رسند.

(پایان)

کسی که [ شخص ] خیرخواه را برنجاند - بیست و دوم گناه کسی که از دیگران بد گوید - بیست و سوم گناه کسی که مغروری کند - بیست و چهارم گناه کسی که زن مردمان بفریبد - بیست و پنجم گناه کسی که ناسپاسی کند - بیست و ششم گناه کسی که درمیان مردمان نزاع اندازد - بیست و هفتم گناه کسی که شخص مال شده (فقیر، ور شکسته) را بد گوید - بیست و هشتم گناه کسی که از برای خوشی و آسایش خویش آزار دیگران طلبد - بیست و نهم کسی که گناه زیاد و کرفه (ثواب) کم کند - سی‌ام گناه کسی که از نیکی کردن بدیگران پشیمان شود .

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: مردمان بچند راه و کرفه (ثواب) میتوانند به بهشت رسند ؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد: چنین کسان به بهشت رسند، اوّل کسی که رادی جوید - دوم کسی که راستی ورزد - سوم کسی که سپاسداری کند - چهارم کسی که خرسندی نماید - پنجم کسی که به وهان (نیکوان) نیکی کند و با هر کس دوست باشد - ششم کسی که بر این بی‌گمان بود که آسمان و زمین و هر نیکی ایکه در گیتی و مینو (سرای دیگر، بهشت) است از دادار اورمزد است و دادار اورمزد همه نیکی آفریده است - هفتم کسی که بر این بی‌گمان بود که همه بدی‌ها از اهریمن دروند (گجستگ، ملعون) است - هشتم کسی که برستاخیز تن پسین بی‌گمان بود - نهم کسی که روان خود را از کرفه (ثواب) نیکو گرداند - دهم کسی که ویرا فرزند نباشد و طفلی را بفرزندی پذیرد - یازدهم کسی که بکار خویش تخشا (کوشا) باشد - دوازدهم کسی که بر دین وه (به و نیکو) مازدیسنان (خدا پرستی) بی‌گمان باشد - سیزدهم کسی که [ چون ] ویرا نیکی رسد، ارزش آن نیکی شناسد و (آنرا) قدر داند - چهاردهم کسی که با چشم نیک دروهان (نیکان و خوبان) و اشوان (پاکان و مؤمنان) نگرد - پانزدهم کسی که کینه و رشک را از خود دور دارد - شانزدهم کسی

# چند اندرز از کتاب پهلوی "دانای مینوخرد"

ترجمهٔ آقای فرهاد سام آبادانی، اِم - اِی، بمبئی

"همانطور که در شمارهٔ اول سال هفتم ایندو ایرانیکا یاد آور شدیم، این ترجمه بر حسب ترتیبی که در متن کتاب است نیست بلکه قطعات مختلفه از اینجا و آنجا ترجمه شده است - چون مطالب این قسمت مربوط بهم است، سبب شد که ترجمهٔ کامل باب سی و ششم در اینجا انجام بپذیرد تا مطلب از هم بُریده نشود و فهم آن نیز واضح باشد، و برای کسانیکه بآثار و ادبیّات ایران قبل از اسلام علاقه‌ای دارند سودمند افتد".

دانا از مینوخرد پرسید: از گناهان کدام گناه گران‌تر (سنگین تر) باشد؟

مینوخرد پاسخ کرد[1]: از گناهانی که مردم کنند غلام بارگی گران‌تر [باشد] - دیگر (آنکه) زن مردم را فریب دادن - سوم مرد اشو (پاک، مومن) را زدن - چهارم گناه کسی که پیمان شکند - پنجم آنکه راز نپوشد - ششم گناه کسی که آتش ورهرام (بهرام) را احترام نکند - هفتم گناه کسی که سگ آبی را بزند - هشتم گناه کسی که بُت و بُت‌خانه بپرستد - نهم گناه کسی که بهر کیش (مذهب) گروَد و همهٔ ادیان بپرستد - دهم گناه کسی که در امانت خیانت کند - یازدهم گناه کسی که دروغ گوید - دوازدهم گناه کسی که کار نکند و مزد تمام گیرد - سیزدهم گناه کسی که از اهریمن نیکی طلبد - چهاردهم گناه کسی که جادوئی کند - پانزدهم گناه کسی که دو روئی کند - شانزدهم گناه کسی که دیو پرستد - هفدهم گناه کسی که دزدی کند - هیجدهم گناه کسی که مهر و دروج کند - نوزدهم گناه کسی که سخن‌چینی کند - بیستم گناه کسی که خواستهٔ دیگران به ستم ستاند - بیست و یکم گناه

(۱) پاسخ کردن بمعنی پاسخ دادن و جوابدادن باشد، پاسخ کردن بجای پاسخ دادن در زبان پهلوی زیاد بکار رفته است.

ولی برای اثبات مدعا و متقاعد ساختن دیگران، بویژه مدعیان، دلائل فوق کاملاً کافی و قطعی بنظر نمیآمد و سند معتبر و قابل اعتماد لازم بود. اگرچه بنظر نگارنده اختلاف اسلوب و شیوهٔ سخن خود دلیلی وافی و محکم و ثابت کنندهٔ مدعا میباشد.

ازاینرو پیوسته در تفحص و جستجو بودم شاید برای اثبات مقصود و غرض خویش، سندی معتبر و مسلم بدست آرم و بدین وسیله عقیده و حدس خود را ثابت و مدلل دارم و گاهی در اثناء تتبع و کاوش و تحقیق از نیل بمقصود و مطلوب خویش قرین یأس و نومیدی میشدم و با خود میگفتم: محققان و خاور شناسان اروپا باوجود کتابخانه‌های بزرگ و کتب خطی فراوان که در دسترس خود دارند بتحصیل چنین سند و مدرک قطعی نائل نگردیده و بحدس و خیال سخنها گفته اند و نیز رد عقیدهٔ که قریب پنج قرن است نویسندگان راجع بمثنوی مزبور اظهار داشته و در کتابها نگاشته و آن را از فردوسی دانسته اند با این وسائل مختصر و کتابخانهٔ محقری که نگارنده در دست دارد چگونه امکان پذیرد و چگونه بدرک مطلوب کامیاب خواهد شد.

ولی باز میاندیشیدم و خود را امیدوار میساختم که دانشمندان و بزرگان بیهوده نگفته اند: "عاقبت جوینده یابنده بود". هرکه بکوشد بآرزوی خویش نائل گردد و طالب صادق بمطلوب برسد.

در اثناء این جستجو و اهتمام خوشبختانه بتحصیل مثنوی یوسف و زلیخای خطی خیلی کهنه و قدیمی که از صرصر حوادث و نوائب ایام مصون و از تصرفات و تحریفات نساخ و چکامه سرایان و متصرفان محفوظ مانده کامیاب گردیدم و خدای متعال را شکرها گفتم.

مثنوی مزبور رفع کلیهٔ اشتباهات را نمود و معلوم و مسلّم شد که حدس و عقیدهٔ نگارنده صائب است و آنچه دیگران درین باب نگاشته اند نادرست و نامناسب.

یعنی اگر فرزند بخون پدر دلیر باشد حلال‌زاده نیست و فرزند دیگری است و باید این راز و نکتهٔ پنهانی را از مادرش پرسید .

همچنین در جواب پیغامی که سلم و تور بر ضد ایرج برای فریدون پدر خود فرستاده بودند فریدون بتوسط فرستادهٔ ایشان چنین پاسخ میفرستد :

یکی داستان گویم ار بشنوید　　همان بر که کارید آن بدروید
چنین گفت با ما سخن رهنمای　　جز این است جاوید ما را سرای
مرا خود ز گیتی گه رفتن است　　نه هنگام تیزی و آشفتن است
و لیکن چنین گوید آن سالخورد　　که بودش سه فرزند آزاد مرد
کسی کو برادر فروشد بخاک　　سزد گر نخوانندش از آب پاک

یعنی اگر کسی برادر خود را برای تصرف خاک و زمین بفروشد و بستیزد سزاوار است ویرا حلال‌زاده نخوانند مقصود از آب ناپاک نطفهٔ حرام است .

استاد بزرگوار ما که در اشعار خود اینگونه رعایت ادب گفتار را کرده و بدین طریق استادانه مقصود خود را بیان نموده چگونه میتوان اشعار ذیل را بوی منسوب کرد و آن را مخالف شیوه و روش وی ندانست :

بد اندیش بر من زبان برگشود　　چو خر ژ ژ هر زشتیی میسرود
تو بی‌بیم باش و مشو دور ما　　که بدگو نشاید بمزدور ما
که همواره رنجور بادا تنش　　چو مادرش بدنام هر جا زنش

هرچند نگارنده نسخهٔ خطی شاهنامه را که در موزهٔ بریطانی محفوظ است ندیده و کاملاً از آن مطلع نیست ولی از مفاد این شعر :

بفرزند او گرچه شاگرد هست　　نگر تا کجا مهربانیش هست

میتوان حدس زد که این اشعار را معلم و آموزگار پسر خان لنجان گفته و بآخر شاهنامهٔ مزبور ملحق ساخته و بوی تقدیم کرده است .

اینها ادله و نکاتی بود که عقیدهٔ نگارنده را در عدم انتساب مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا بفردوسی تأیید میکرد .

۲ — فردوسی مدت بیست سال بنظم شاهنامه مشغول بود و پادشاه بزرگی که سزاوار باشد چنین کتاب سترگی را بنام وی گرداند نمی‌یافت چنانکه خود فرماید:

سخن را نگهداشتم سال بیست　　بدان تا سزاوار این گنج کیست

و از بزرگان و ناموران و اعیان و اشراف طوس کسی را آن قدر و پایگاه نمی‌دید که کتاب خود را بوی تقدیم نماید و بسبب انقلاب و اضطراب و جنگها و حوادث ناگوار که از اختلاف و خصومت میان سرداران سامانی حادث گشته و کشور خراسان را پر از آشوب و فتنه ساخته بود بمطلوب خویش کامیاب نمی‌گردید چنانکه در این اشعار بدان اشاره می‌کند:

همیگفتم این نامه را چند گاه　　نهان بد ز کیوان و خورشید و ماه

زمانه سراسر پر از جنگ بود　　بجویندگان بر جهان تنگ بود

بدیهی و مسلم است استاد بزرگوار ما باوجود پایگاه بلند و منزلت والا و ارجمندی را که برای نامهٔ نامی خود قائل است و مدت بیست سال در انتظار شهریار بزرگی که شایسته و درخور تقدیم شاهنامه باشد میگزارد، آن را بحاکم قصبهٔ خان لنجان یا کدخدای جوشقان تقدیم نمیکند و بنام او باز نمیگرداند!

۳ — فردوسی درمیان شعرا و چکامه سرایان بتقوی و عفاف و ادب گفتار و نزاهت قلم مخصوصی و ممتاز است و همین خصلت گزیده و خوی پسندیده است که بر علوّ مقام و پایگاه وی می‌افزاید حتی در جائیکه از ذکر بعضی مطالب مستهجن و ناشایست ناگزیر است با نهایت استادی و مهارت و اشاره و کنایه مقصود خویشتن را میگوید و میگذرد:

چنانکه دربارهٔ ضحاک هنگامیکه وسوسه و دمدمهٔ شیطان را برای کشتن پدر خویش می‌پذیرد و همداستان میگردد این اشعار را میفرماید:

بخون پدر گشت همداستان　　ز دانا شنیدستم این داستان

که فرزند بد گر بود نره شیر　　بخون پدر هم نباشد دلیر

مگر در نهانی سخن دیگر است　　پژوهنده را راز با مادر است

پسر کو رها کرد رسم پدر　　تو بیگانه خوان و مخوانش پسر

آنجا که از عشق سخن میراند بعضی اشعار نغز و پسندیده دارد و همچنین اشعاری را که در بزم و عشق سروده بهتر و برتر از اشعاریست که در قسمتهای دیگر گفته و میرساند که در ابیات عاشقانه دست و قدرتی دارد و در شیوه‌های دیگر چندان دستی ندارد .

چنانکه سابقاً بدان اشاره کردیم در آخر یکی از نسخه‌های خطی شاهنامه محفوظ در موزهٔ بریطانی لندن اشعاریست که میرساند استاد بزرگوار ما باصفهان نیز عزیمت نموده و در خان لنجان که از مضافات و توابع این شهر است نزد احمد بن محمد بن ابی بکر حاکم خان لنجان رفته و بواسطهٔ مهربانیها و نوازشها که وی و پسرش دربارهٔ او ارزانی داشته اند شاهنامه را یکبار بنام وی کرده و در دوم محرم سال سیصد و هشتاد و نه آن را بانجام رسانیده . روزی فردوسی غفلةً در زنده رود می‌افتد و در شرف غرق شدن بوده که پسر حاکم خان لنجان در آب فرو رفته زلف فردوسی را میگیرد و او را از خطر غرق و هلاک خلاص می‌بخشد .

اشعار مزبور چنانکه استاد بزرگوار جناب آقای محمد علی فروغی نیز حدس زده اند از فردوسی نیست و از ملحقات است و اموری که این رأی و عقیده را تأیید میکند بقرار ذیل است :

۱ — شیوهٔ ابیات مزبور بغایت سست و گاهی غلط و نادرست است و با اشعار شاهنامه بکلی مخالف میباشد و فرق آشکار و بین دارد مانند این بیتها :

چو شد اسپری داستان بزرگ — سخنهای آن خسروان سترگ
بروز سیم شنبذی چاشتگاه — شده پنج در پنج روزان ز ماه
گرانمایه احمد که همسال او — بجوید ز هر جا از او آل او
ز باباش جوئی تو نام درست — ابو بکرش آخر محمد نخست
مرا سوی خان خودش راه داد — چو با من بدید او بخرگاه داد
مرا خواند و از من نپوشید چیز — چو بایدت گفتا ببخشم بنیز
تو بی‌بیم باش و مشو دور ما — که بدگو نشاید بمزدور ما
چو از پردگیش آگهی یافتم — سوی خدمتش نیز بشتافتم

مقصود از پردگی راز و سرّ است .

بیکبار با شه بگفتند ما ز یوسف ندیدیم هرگز خطا
زلیخا بدو داشت بسیار میل بد از عشق یوسف دلش چاه ویل

همچنین کسی که این اشعار را در شاهنامه گفته :

## در وصف تهمینه مادر سهراب

دو ابرو کمان و دو گیسو کمند ببالا بکردار سرو بلند
دو برگ گلش سوسن می‌سرشت دو شمشاد عنبرفروش از بهشت
بنا گوش تابنده خورشید وار فرو هشته زو حلقهٔ گوشوار
لبان از تبرزد زبان از شکر دهانش مکلل بدُر و گهر
ستاره نهان کرده زیر عقیق تو گفتی ورا زهره آمد رفیق
دو رخ چون عقیق یمانی برنگ دهان چون دل عاشقان گشته تنگ
روانش خرد بود و تن جان پاک تو گفتی که بهره ندارد ز خاک

اینگونه اشعار را در وصف زلیخا بگوید :

شکم بد لطیف و درفشان بلور و لیکن بنرمی چو خزّ و سمور
چو ران هیونان دو ران ستبر ز تن هوش بردی ز دل تاب و صبر
دو ساقش بسان دو سیمین ستون بدان ایستاده کُه بیستون

در اشعار فوق دو ران معشوق را برانهای شتران قوی و تنومند مانند کرده و دو ساق محبوب را بدو سیمین ستون که کوه بیستون بر آن ایستاده!

منظور نگارنده این نیست که در مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا اشعار نغز و پسندیده و مضامین نیکو و شیوا موجود نمیباشد بلکه مقصود آنست که این دو مثنوی نمیتواند زادهٔ طبع و نتیجهٔ افکار یک چکامه سرا باشد و سبک و شیوهٔ آنها در اکثر جاها با یکدیگر بکلی مخالف و متباین است.

گوینده و ناظم این مثنوی چنانکه خود گوید :

بسی گوهر داستان سفته‌ام بسی نامهٔ دوستان گفته‌ام
همیدون بسی رانده‌ام گفتگوی ز خوبان شکر لب ماهروی

خریدار اوصافی را که برای من بر شمردی در من نیابد مرا بیهر بیند و آنگاه بها را از تو باز خواهد و موجب رنج و عذاب تو گردد مرا بطریقی که دستور میدهم معرفی کن. این قسم اشعار را بسراید:

بسوی منادی ندا کرد و گفت — که ای با خرد خویش و با داد جفت
بجای آور امروز یک لخت هوش — مرا پاره‌ای زین نکوتر فروش
ندا این چنین کن تو اکنون مرا — که حالی من خسته گویم ترا
که خرّد غلامی یتیم و اسیر — که کس نیستش در جهان دستگیر
که خرّد غلامی ذلیل و غریب — که کس نیست مر درد او را طبیب
که خرّد غلامی حزین و نژند — که تا دی بدش پای بسته ببند
که خرّد غلامی گریزان بپای — نه پاکیزه مغز و نه شایسته رای
که خرّد غلامی فتاده بچاه — شده عقل وی ناقص و دل تباه
که خرّد غلامی دل از ره شده — قضای بدش دست بر سر زده
که خرّد غلامی غریوان مدام — فشانیده بر رخ سرشک غمام

یا این شعرها را بسراید:

- ایا کاش هر غم که پیش آمدی — نه نادیدن روی یوسف بدی
.................. — ..................
هر آنکس که در مصر بودند زن — بکاخ ملک در شدند انجمن
زلیخا و چندان زن بت پرست — کشان بود مجروح کفهای دست
ملک دستها شان همه بنگرید — نشان بریدن سراسر بدید
بپرسید از ایشان هم‌انگاه شاه — که از چیست چندان نشان تباه
میان زلیخا و یوسف سخن — بگوئید از آنسان که افتاده بن
وگر راست گوئید با من سخن — عفوتان کنم کرده‌های کهن
وگر در سخن‌ها بود پیش و کم — دهم پشتتان را بشمشیر خم.

چگونه ممکن است راجع بمالک یوسف صدّیق هنگامیکه میخواهد در مصر وی را بمعرض فروش گذارد و عزیز مصر و بزرگان و توانگران شهر همه خریداری چنین بندهٔ عزیزی را طالبند و داشتن او را بجان مایل و راغب او منادی از طرف مالک حضرت یوسف را معرفی میکند و اوصاف ویرا میشمارد، اینگونه اشعار را بگوید:

منادی ندا کرد هم در زمان — که ای مردم مصر پیر و جوان
که خرّد غلامی چو باغ بهشت — که با او نماید رخ حور زشت
که خرّد غلامی چو سرو سهی — همه نیکوئیها همه آگهی
که خرّد غلامی چو در خوشاب — دعاهاش پذرفته و مستجاب
که خرّد غلامی که نزدیک و دور — دهد روی او همچو خورشید نور
که خرّد غلامی که دو هفته ماه — نماید بر عارض او سیاه
که خرّد غلامی که در رنگ و بوی — گل و مشک سجده برد پیش اوی
که خرّد غلامی که از بس هنر — جز او نیست در هفت کشور دگر

فردوسی در شاهنامه هنگامیکه زال برای برآمدن بر فراز باره با رودابه گفتگو میکند این گونه ابیات را میسراید:

پریروی گفت سپهبد شنود — ز سر شعر گلنار بگشاد زود
کمندی گشاده ز سرو بلند — کس از مشک ز انسان نپیچد کمند
خم اندر خم و مار بر مار بود — بر آن غبغبش تار بر تار بود
پس از باره رودابه آواز داد — که ای پهلوان بچهٔ گرد زاد
بگیر این سر گیسو از یکسوام — ز بهر تو باید همی گیسوام
بدان پرورانیدم این تار را — که تا دستگیری کند یار را

سرایندهای که اشعار فوق را سروده آیا ممکن است راجع بمنادی که برای معرفی حضرت صدّیق اوصاف و خصال او را بیان میکند و حضرت میفرماید شاید

(چنانکه بعدها بذکر آن خواهیم پرداخت) در نسخهٔ اصل نبوده و از موضوعات و دستبردها و ملحقاتی است که متأسفانه در بسیاری از کتابهای ادبی و دواوین شعرا بعمل آمده است :

دلم سیر گشت از فریدون گرد — مرا زان چه کو تخت ضحاک برد؟
گرفتم دل از ملکت کیقباد — همان تخت کاوس کی برد باد
ندانم چه خواهد بدن جز عذاب — ز کیخسرو و جنگ افراسیاب
بدینگونه سودا بخندد خرد — ز من خود کجا کی پسندد خرد؟
که یک نیمه از عمر خود کم کنم — جهانی پر از نام رستم کنم
دلم سیر گشت و گرفتم ملال — هم از گیو و طوس و هم از پور زال

۳ — دلیل مهم‌تر و محکم‌تر اختلاف شیوه و اسلوب شاهنامه و مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا است .

شیوهٔ شاهنامه بغایت متین و نغز و پسندیده و زیبا و اسلوب مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا بکلی مخالف شاهنامه است و اشعار سبک و سست و نازیبا فراوان در آن دیده میشود و همچنین مضامین و معانی و تشبیهات و استعارات آنها بیکدیگر شباهت ندارد و واضح و مسلم است که سرایندهٔ این دو مثنوی دو چکامه سرا و از دو سرچشمه مایه گرفته .

مسلم است کسی که اینگونه اشعار را در شاهنامه سروده :

برآمد برین روزگاری دراز — که شد اژدهافش بتنگی فراز
خجسته فریدون ز مادر بزاد — جهان را یکی دیگر آمد نهاد
ببالید بر سان سرو سهی — همی‌تافت زو فرّ شاهنشهی
جهانجوی با فر جمشید بود — بکردار تابنده خورشید بود
جهان را چو باران بایستگی — روان را چو دانش بشایستگی

یا این لف و نشر مرکب که هیچ چکامه سرائی بگفتن مانند آن توانا نیست :

بروز نبرد آن یل ارجمند — بشمشیر و خنجر بگرز و کمند
برید و درید و شکست و ببست — یلان را سر و سینه و پا و دست •

بلند استاد بزرگوار طوس پی برد و از عهدهٔ شناختن یک تن از چکامه سرایان ایران چنانکه باید برآید و اینگونه سبک و سست اظهار عقیده کرده و خود را عاجز و ناتوان نشان داده، چگونه راجع بملت با شوکت و عظمتی مانند ملت ایران گاه گاه در نوشته‌های خود اظهار عقیده و نظر میکند و گستاخ وار عبارات زننده و سخنان آلوده بغرض و تعصب و دور از انصاف مینویسد!

۳ — در مقدمهٔ مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا اشعار ذیل مندرج است:

بسی گوهر داستان سفته‌ام   بسی نامهٔ دوستان گفته‌ام
ببزم و برزم و بکین و بمهر   یکی از زمین و یکی از سپهر
سپردم بسی راه دل خستگان   زدم پردهٔ مهر پیوستگان
همیدون بسی رانده‌ام گفتگوی   ز خوبان شکر لب ماهروی
ز هر گونه‌ای نظم آراستم   بگفتم درو هرچه خود خواستم

پس از ذکر چند شعر دیگر بیت ذیل درج شده:

بجستم ز بهزاد و اسفندیار   نشستم بر این چرمهٔ راهوار

نگارنده گوید از اشعار فوق چنین بر میآید که ناظم یوسف و زلیخا داستان و افسانهٔ عشقی بسیار ساخته و نامه‌ها پرداخته و از خوبان شکر لب ماهرو بسی گفتگو رانده در صورتیکه بجز شاهنامه و داستان یوسف و زلیخا داستانها و افسانه‌های دیگری را باستاد بزرگوار طوس نسبت نداده اند و ذکری از تألیفات دیگر وی در هیچ کتاب تذکره و تاریخ دیده نشده است.

همچنین بهزاد و اسفندیا باید داستان مخصوصی باشد که ناظم مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا بنظم آورده اما کسی چنین نامهٔ را باستاد عالی مقدار ما منسوب ننموده و این خود دلیل بزرگی است که میرساند مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا از فردوسی نیست و باید بخطا و اشتباه آن را بوی نسبت داده باشند.

ولی اشعار ذیل که بعقیدهٔ نگارنده علت عمدهٔ اشتباه نویسندگان و تذکره نویسان و غیر ایشان در نسبت دادن مثنوی مزبور بفردوسی شده

. فردوسی چکامه سرائی است بزرگ منش، بلند همت، با شهامت، صاحب عزت نفس و عزم راسخ و عقیدهٔ ثابت و میدانسته است از نظم این نامهٔ بزرگ و کتاب سترگ کاخی بلند از فضل و ادب بنیاد نهاده که دست حوادث و نوائب آن را آسیبی نرساند و از باد و باران گزند و ویرانی بدان راه نیابد و جاویدان در جهان بماند فردوسی دریافته بود چه خدمت بزرگ و وظیفهٔ مهمّی را نسبت بمیهن مقدّس خود انجام داده و چه نام نیکو و یادگار پایدار و ذکر خیر از خود در روزگار باقی گذاشته که تا ابد نامش عنوان نامهٔ سخندانان و دانشوران و سر لوحهٔ صحیفهٔ چکامه سرایان ایران خواهد بود و درین اشعار بدان اشاره میکند :

بناهای آباد گردد خراب ز باران و از تابش آفتاب
پی افکندم از نظم کاخی بلند که از باد و باران نیابد گزند
هر آنکس که دارد هش و رای و دین پس از مرگ بر من کند آفرین
نمیرم ازین پس که من زنده‌ام که تخم سخن را پراگنده‌ام
بسی رنج بردم درین سال سی عجم زنده کردم ازین پارسی
همان گنج و دینار و کاخ بلند نخواهد بدن مر ترا سودمند
سخن ماند از تو همی یادگار سخن را چنین خوار مایه مدار
برین نامه‌بر عمرها بگذرد بخواند هر آنکس که دارد خرد
همی‌خواهم از داور کردگار که چندان امان یابم از روزگار
کزین نامور نامهٔ باستان بمانم بگیتی یکی داستان
که هرکس که اندرسخن داد داد ز من جز بنیکی ندارد بیاد
چو این نامور نامه آید به بن ز من روی کشور شود پر سخن
ز گفتار دهقان بیاراستم بدین خویشتن را نشان خواستم
که ماند ز من یادگاری چنین برو آفرین کو کند آفرین
پس از مرگ بر من که گوینده‌ام بدین نام جاوید جوینده‌ام

نگارنده گوید جای بسی عجب و شگفتی است این خاور شناس شهیر یعنی ,,نولدکه،، که سالها بمطالعهٔ شاهنامه و شرح زندگانی فردوسی رنج برده و تتبع کرده و نتوانسته است بحالات روحی و بزرگ منشی و علو طبع و همت

خاور شناس شهیر ''نولدکه'' مینویسد :

''اینکه فردوسی خود در کتاب ''یوسف زلیخا'' از شاهنامه مذمت میکند ناچار باین علت بوده که برای خاطر آن کتاب میانه‌اش با سلطان محمود بهم خورده و از وی رنجیده خاطر بوده است''. (۱)

نگارنده گوید استاد طوس بدانچه در شاهنامه نگاشته کاملا عقیده داشته و آنها را دروغ و افسانه نمی‌پنداشته و بدیهی است برای قدر ناشناسی و بهم خوردن میانه‌اش با سلطان محمود غزنوی داستانهای ملی و مفاخر و مآثر کشور با عظمت خود را با یک مشت خاک برابر نمیداند و بدینگونه سخنان لب نمی‌گشاید و نمی‌فرماید :

از آن تخم کشتن پشیمان شدم　　زبان را و دل را گره بر زدم
که آن داستانها دروغ است پاک　　دو صد زان نیرزد بیک مشت خاک

فردوسی معتقد است که آنچه در شاهنامه افسانه بنظر میآید و عقل از پذیرفتن آن امتناع دارد مبنی بر مصلحتی و حکمتی است و راه بمعنی و رمز می‌برد و اسرار بسیار در آن گفته‌ها نهفته چنانکه درین اشعار بدان اشعار نماید :

تو این را دروغ و فسانه مدان　　بیکسان روش در زمانه مدان
ازو هرچه اندر خورد با خرد　　دگر بر ره رمز و معنی برد

چکامه سرائی که اشعار فوق را سروده و در خصوص مطالب تاریخ خویش اینگونه اظهار نظر و عقیده نموده و افسانه‌های کتاب شاهنامه را اشاراتی میداند که راه بمعنی و رمز و حکمت می‌برد و تأویلی دارد هرگز بچنین اشعار زبان نمی‌گشاید و خود را سست عنصر و کم مایه و بی‌عقیده بجهانیان نمی‌نماید و نمیگوید :

کنون گر مرا چند روزی بقاست　　دگر نسپرم جز همه راه راست
نگویم دگر داستان ملوک　　دلم سیر شد ز استان ملوک
نگویم دگر نامه‌های دروغ　　سخن را ز گفتار ندهم فروغ

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(۱) رجوع شود بفردوسی نامهٔ مجلهٔ مهر صفحه ٦٧٧ مقالهٔ خانم سیاح.

و مهم‌ترین اطلاعات راجع بوی در آن کتاب است لابد ذکری از مثنوی مزبور و مسافرت فردوسی بعراق میشد. همچنین در بسیاری از تألیفات متأخران مانند: تذکرة الشعراء دولتشاه سمرقندی و کتاب مجالس المؤمنین قاضی نور الله شوشتری و بهارستان جامی و غیر آنها بمسافرت فردوسی و مثنوی مزبور اشاره نشده است.

۲ — غرض و مقصود حقیقی و مهم استاد بزرگوار ما از نظم شاهنامه،زنده کردن زبان فارسی و مفاخر و مآثر ملی و نمودن شوکت و قدرت و عظمت کشور ایران بجهانیان و بقای نام نیک و ذکر جاوید از برای خویشتن بوده است و منظوم ساختن آن کتاب تنها برای صله و جائزه و حطام و زخارف دنیوی که در نزد حکیم دانشمند چندان ارزش و اهمیتی ندارد نبوده است که چون تیر مرادش بهدف اجابت نرسد و مسئول و مأمولش موافق دلخواه معمول نگردد مانند مردم دون همت پست و سست عنصر دنیا پرست زحمات بی‌پایان و رنجهای سی سالهٔ خود را بیهوده و ضایع پندارد و ناچیز و باطل و دروغ شمارد و این شعار را بسراید:

ز هر گونه‌ای نظم آراستم — بگفتم درو هرچه خود خواستم
اگرچه دلم زان سخن با مزه — همی‌کاشتم تخم رنج و بزه
از آن تخم کشتن پشیمان شدم — زبان را و دل را گره بر زدم
بگویم کنون نامه‌های دروغ — سخن را ز گفتار ندهم فروغ
نکارم کنون تخم رنج و گناه — که آمد سپیدی بجای سیاه
دلم سیر گشت از فریدون گرد — مرا زان چه کو تخت ضحاک برد؟
گرفتم دل از ملکت کیقباد — همان تخت کاوس کی برد باد
ندانم چه خواهد بدن جز عذاب — ز کیخسرو و جنگ افراسیاب
برین میسزد گر بخندد خرد — ز من خود کجا؟ کی؟ پسندد خرد
که یک نیمه از عمر خود کم کنم — جهانی پر از نام رستم کنم
دلم گشت سیر و گرفتم ملال — هم از گیو و طوس و هم از پور زال

# یوسف و زلیخای منسوب بفردوسی

## ( قسط دوم )

نگارش استاد اجّل جناب آقای عبدالعظیم قریب ، دانشگاه تهران

### عقیدهٔ نگارندهٔ مقاله

در آغاز جوانی که بتحصیل مشغول بودم و هنوز در فنون ادب و نقد شعر متیاز خوب و بد سخن و غثّ و سمین آن چندان دستی نداشتم اتفاق را روزی نوی یوسف و زلیخای منسوب بفردوسی بدستم رسید . بمطالعهٔ آن کتاب داختم و اشعار آن در نظرم نغز و پسندیده نیفتاد و بی‌اندازه مایهٔ تعجب شگفتی گردید چه اشعار آن را بهیچ وجه قابل قیاس با اشعار شاهنامه ندیدم سبک این دو مثنوی از حیث بلندی و پستی اشعار در نظرم مختلف و ناموافق مد . کتاب مزبور را بیکسو نهادم و دیگر بمطالعهٔ آن رغبت ننمودم . زیرا خواندن آن از عظمت و پایگاه بلند و ارجمند استاد بزرگوار طوس میکاست و عقیدهٔ مرا نسبت بآن چکامه سرای عالی مقدار متزلزل و سست میکرد .

بمرور زمان که در دانش و ادب سرمایه و معرفتی بیشتر حاصل و تجاربی اندوخته گردید از مطالعهٔ شاهنامه و مثنوی یوسف و زلیخا و مقایسهٔ اشعار آن دو با یکدیگر چنان پنداشتم که مثنوی مزبور از فردوسی نیست و باید باشتباه و خطا بوی منسوب شده باشد و اموری که این عقیده را تأیید میکرد از این قرار است :

۱ — در هیچیک از تذکره‌ها و کتابهای قدیم مخصوصاً آنهائیکه پیش از فتنه و حملهٔ مغول یا اوائل استیلاء این قوم بر کشور ما نگاشته و از ترجمه و شرح زندگانی استاد بزرگوار طوس در آنها سخن رانده شده مانند چهار مقالهٔ نظامی عروضی سمرقندی و تذکرهٔ لباب الالباب محمد عوفی ذکری از مسافرت فردوسی و مثنوی ''یوسف و زلیخا'' نیست و هرگاه مثنوی مزبور از تألیفات وی بود در کتاب چهار مقاله که زمان مؤلف آن از زمان فردوسی چندان دور نیست و قدیمترین کتابی است که شرح زندگانی استاد طوس در آن بتفصیل نگاشته شده